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LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.
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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE ABOLITIONIST AND THE CONTRABAND.

A PARODY.

"Many of them sigh for their old servitude."—*Report Sanitary Commission.*

ABOLITIONIST.

NEEDY Contraband, whither are you going!
Rough is your road; your hoe is out of order;
Your coat is of home-spun, thick and ungraceful,
So are your breeches!

Weary Contraband! do you not hate them,—
They, the proud Southrons, rolling in their comforts,
Swinging the lash, and lounging in splendor, while you
Hoe the potatoes?

Can you desire ever to go back to them—
Have you not tasted the sweetness of freedom—
Heard us discourse on human equality—
Read Sumner's speeches?

Have you no terrible story to tell us,
No back to photograph covered with gashes,
No little children, white as the lily,
We can exhibit?

Drops of compassion hang on my eye-lids
Ready to droop in lectures on freedom,
Soon as you tell me the numberless horrors
Which you have suffered.

CONTRABAND.

Horrors! Why, bless you, massa, I know no horrors;
I'se no back to show, nor lily-white children;
I was but kindly treated, down on the river,
On the plantation.

Then came your captains, dashing on horse-back,
Scattering the white folk, driving the niggers
In a big flock together, 'way from their cabins,
Foodless and homeless.

Now they are dying in hundreds about us,
Women and children, the feeble and aged;
What do we want with your lectures on freedom,
With Sumner's speeches?—

What do we want with Uncle Tom's Cabin,
(I mean now the *book*,—the cabin we'd gladly have,)
Or strong-minded ladies to teach us in politics?—
Give us potatoes!

Give us potatoes, or let us go back again
To the old master, where at least we had victuals,
And where, if we worked, we at least were not driven
To be shot in the battle.

ABOLITIONIST.

Give you potatoes, and not read you Sumner?
Wretch, whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance,
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast?

[Here Abolitionist orders Contraband to be torn from his wife and children, and "conscripted." Wife and children are left behind to starve.]—*Boston Post.*

THE PEACE ABOLITIONISTS.

[The New York *Daily News*—the organ of the Fernando Wood Peace Democracy—encouraged by the aspects of the Fremont movement and the praises which some of the prominent leaders of that movement have bestowed upon McClellan, makes the following affectionate appeal to "The Peace Abolitionists"!]

WE too, then, the Democracy of the North, will appeal to that spirit of Abolitionism. We do it not without hope that that unhappy infatuation, that strange perversion of philanthropy to the sustenance of deeds of bloodshed and inhumanity, may become an element of safety and redemption for our country; for we have noted that many among those whose anti-slavery prejudices are most intense, have of late been appalled in the presence of the death and agony and bereavement that have marked the progress of this campaign. We believe that many Abolitionists have supported this war with the conviction that they were vindicating a social principle sanctified by their conscience; and we know that many of them have recently become aware that no social theory among enlightened men can be reduced to practice by force of arms. If it were within the power of logic to prove that a condition of forced labor is prejudicial to the happiness of the African slaves in the South, or incompatible with the spirit of our political system, we are sure that the more intellectual of Abolitionists will now confess that too much of the blood of the white race is being shed to emancipate the black. We ask no man to renounce his social code until he appreciates its error; but we do ask the sincere philanthropist to consider whether God ordains that social theories shall be enforced, among civilized men, at the bayonet's point, and at the sacrifice of life and welfare that we have endured? How much greater will be the glory of the Abolitionist if after ages shall tell that he combatted error with the weapons of God-given thought? His is a triumph to be achieved by the power of mind over mind, or it is not achieved at all. The scourge may enforce obedience to a doctrine, but not conviction of its truth. The legitimate path of the social reformer is through the domain of Peace. Our boasted enlightenment is worthless if it cannot disarm error and reveal the truth without dealing death blows in lieu of argument. The Christian missionary is not sent among the heathen to enforce the true faith with fire and sword. We know that many anti-slavery men have of late appreciated these solemn truths; and we believe that every Abolitionist who sincerely hopes the vindication of his creed will next November give his suffrage for Peace, under whose blessed influence he can best fulfil his mission.

RADICAL INGRATITUDE.

IF radicals of the Lloyd Garrison and Parker Pillsbury school are vinegar to the rest of mankind, they are oil of vitriol, upon occasions, to each other. Nothing can exceed the ferocity with which they turn from their common foe, conservatism, and fasten their teeth in the quivering flesh of a "brother." It is like the falling out of a pack of wolves. At these times the radicals of this particular sect are so cruel and remorseless as to arouse a sentiment of pity in the breasts of those who ought, in a spirit of poetic justice, to be disinterested lookers-on. Consider the case of Lloyd Garrison himself, for example. Here is a man who for thirty years has been laboring to destroy the Union, and drag the North and South into a war which he must have known would have cost two or three millions of lives. Circumstances have brought this cherished dream to pass before he had expected it. He is privileged, even in his own lifetime, to see this fair country almost covered with a sea of blood, and to feel it shake with the thunder of artillery, every bolt of which bears death upon its wings. It must be to him a delightful thought, that he has contributed, more than any man in the nation, to transform this once happy land into a vast battle-field and charnel house. We can imagine with what ineffable tranquillity this sage of modern radicalism looks forth from his calm seclusion, and beholds the "great work going on"; a tranquillity that is not a little enhanced, probably, by the comfortable reflection that the spectator is exempt, by age, from a draft. To such a man, if to any one, is surely due the veneration of all good radicals and true.

And yet mark how this "noblest Roman of them all" is abused by the very men who ought most to love and honor him. It appears that Mr. Garrison, fatigued with his thirty years' toil for the promotion of human discord, feels like retiring. And what place is so snug to retire to as a public office with a large salary? Mr. Garrison's desire for an office is natural and commendable. He has earned it, if any man has, from this Administration; and it speaks poorly for the gratitude of the powers at Washington that they should have waited for a hint from the man himself. But wait they did; and sure enough the hint came in an unmistakable manner, in Mr. Garrison's recent Boston speech. This is the interpretation that his former friends—who ought to know him best—put upon his extraordinary and subservient defence of the Administration on that occasion. It was a regular partisan effort, in the best Custom House style, full of sophistries and evasions, of ingenious apologies for wrongs of which some mention could not be avoided, and artful omissions of everything else. If there is any indignation to be expressed by his old adherents and friends, it should be vented on the Administration, which has not appreciated Mr. Garrison, and not on Mr. Garrison, who was thus forced into the painful necessity of asserting his claims. We have not at hand a report of the withering sarcasms, uttered aloud or *sotto voce*, which were launched at the speaker's head, during and after the delivery of the speech. But they must have made the blood of a fair-minded auditor curdle with horror! It is to the savage treatment that Mr. Garrison is receiving from a large portion of the radical newspaper press, that we wish just to direct attention. He is said to be "drunk with the wine of political expediency," to have "fallen," to have "uncovered his nakedness." His conduct is denounced as "infamous," "unscrupulous," full of "cool impudence." His speech is characterized as "thoroughly ungentlemanly, unfair and vindictive from beginning to end." He has sunk to be a "political partisan." He is "in his dotage." But the unkindest cut of all is the phrase "Pharisaical conceit." The idea of applying this to a man of Garrison's modesty and humility!

And all this—and much more of the same sort—for no other reason than because this radical Nestor is said to want office! How true it is that parties, like republics, are ungrateful!

Selections.

THE CLEVELAND AND BALTIMORE PLATFORMS.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

To the Editor of The Independent:

I HAVE no wish to answer your extended criticism on my letter. If you are content with your position, I am more than satisfied with mine, and stand cheerfully, indeed proudly, on the ground of my letter—not that the Cleveland platform is a faultless creed or an inspired Bible, but that it was the work of Abolitionists, and is the highest Anti-Slavery idea yet reached in American politics.

I write mainly to protest (and, an Abolitionist writing to an Abolitionist, you must allow me to do so with some little indignation) against your special pleading in the matter of Robert Small. His absence or presence at Baltimore does not affect the argument. I supposed him there, so did and still does the country; and the Baltimore Convention acted on the question of rejecting him and his fellow black delegates *as if he were present*. Neither does the size of the islands we hold in South Carolina affect the argument. There are several thousand Northerners living there, owning plantations and raising crops—perhaps a million of Northern money invested there by private citizens alone. Indeed a Yankee town has existed there more than two years. The delegates thence were summarily turned out of the Baltimore house. But Florida, without a quarter of the claim—where, indeed, we have nothing deserving the name of a settlement, nothing but a camp and its appendages—is admitted to a seat. Florida—where, when Mr. Lincoln wished to set up a government, he exported a shipload of Northerners, and they could not get a foothold! Don't try, then, to throw dust in our eyes by talking about small islands. Every sane man knows that South Carolina was rejected because she sent black delegates. No evasion can rub that spot out of Baltimore garments, and it is of too much significance to be omitted or confused in an Anti-Slavery record.

The only other points in your reply that I object to are those where you answered my letter without reading it (for I know you never intentionally misrepresented me); but that is a course which, considering how many will read your criticisms who will never see my reply, is a gross injustice to your correspondent. (Indeed, your utter misrepresentation of the Cleveland demand for "absolute equality" shows that you have never fairly read its platform, since no fair man, having read it, could so misrepresent it.)

1st. Last May, in Dr. Cheever's church, I spoke, as I have often done, of the *necessary* despotism of government in war-time, and approved it, as our Cleveland platform does. The government arrests Vallandigham in Ohio, Marshal Kane in Baltimore, a secession spy in New York, and I called such despotism "*necessary, inevitable*, and (therefore) not to be found fault with." In my letter, as you will see when you read it, I speak of cases like the kidnapping of Arguelles, and suppressing the functions of the Senate in the case of F. P. Blair, and say, "*despotic,* UNNECESSARY, *and, therefore, to be found fault with.*" Lo! you find me marvelously inconsistent! No doubt to such careless readers or no-readers my speeches seem as much at cross purposes as the swords in Tiffany's windows. Don't abuse my speeches as most men do the Bible, reading it in *verses*. Absorb them in generous paragraphs, and you will see they are all of a piece—using different means, but always for the same end—now speaking encouragement, and now marshaling opposition, *as the occasion demands*; but always with the same unchanging purpose to make this government thoroughly Anti-Slavery, by telling the people when it is right, rousing them to vigilance even when it is rightfully using dangerous powers, and calling them to resist when it jeopards the inalienable rights of the black man or the white. Still, if my speeches were inconsistent, it would not trouble me the least. Whenever I am scared at the ghost of Consistency, I shall conclude I am too much of a coward to speak at all.

2d. Again, in speaking of the Constitutional Amendment, you say, "It is a great unfairness in Mr. Phillips to say of the Cleveland Convention that from them Congress borrowed the idea." Indeed, I should be both unfair and absurd to say so. When you read my letter, you will see I say no such thing. I said:

"The Baltimore platform has but one article of any meaning or value, that relating to a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery. That article would never, in my opinion, have been inserted but for the pressure of that *Movement which culminated in the Cleveland Convention.* The plan of amending the Constitution was never suggested by the Administration, nor by Congress, nor by any prominent Republican Press. It was first urged, and has been since patiently pressed on public attention, *by those who originated the Cleveland Movement. From them Congress borrowed the idea*, and to their labor is due the success it has obtained."

That is strictly true, and your "counter-statement" does not begin to touch it. You attempt to answer by telling me that *The Evening Post* urged an amendment of the Constitution last February. Certainly—of course. Mr. Sumner had introduced his resolutions for it very early, in the very first week, I think of that month. Of course it was safe ground then. One or two months before, if my memory is correct (but of this I will not be positive), Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, in the House of Representatives, proposed to amend the Constitution in regard to slavery: a proposal which dropped dead, and remained unnoticed in Congress for weeks—so dead and unnoticed that I have sometimes doubted whether the Congressional Report in which I read it was not a mistake.

But the Cleveland *Movement* the *movement* which *culminated* in the Cleveland Convention—began this agitation before Mr. Wilson, Mr. Sumner or *The Evening Post*. You know the method of reform well enough to know that, before politicians can venture to touch a measure, you and I must, by outside agitation, create a public opinion in its favor. This we of the Cleveland movement did in the matter of the Constitutional Amendment. I shall not here go into particulars. What I alluded to in my letter, and what it is sufficient for my present purpose to reassert, is that, in the Summer and Fall of 1863, the Germans in the West, and that portion of the Abolitionists who have been recently deemed too radical because dissatisfied with Mr. Lincoln, turned their attention to an amendment of the Constitution. After struggling myself to launch it in certain quarters during the Summer, I prepared a lecture on it in November, 1863, which was repeated, night after night, in Maine, Connecticut, and Massachusetts; was partially reported in the shape of a criticism on the President's Message at the Cooper Institute, in December, and urged afterward four or five times a week on the attention of the public throughout the Winter. Others of us pursued the same course by pen and tongue. At the Decade Meeting you refer to, even when Mr. H. C. Wright had mentioned the suggestion of a United States Senator as to a Constitutional Amendment, the voluminous report of that meeting shows that the only speech which afterward alluded to or demanded one was made by Mr. Aaron M. Powell, emphatically one of us, the "too radical" members of the Society. Stephen S. Foster was the only other speaker who at all approached the question. The Society itself never carried out that resolve till some time in January; and, as for the Senator referred to, if it was Hon. Henry Wilson, there present, he did not mention an amendment in the whole course of his speech, there nor anywhere else, for a long while afterward.

At first the Republican press and leaders, and many Abolitionists, tried to dissuade us. They pooh-poohed at our plan—it was "hypercritical"—"took too much time"—was "unnecessarily cumbrous," etc, etc. We persevered while your Baltimore friends were thinking as to this amendment just what you say they are now thinking as to negro voting, that "the country was not ready for it." *We went to work to make the country ready*, and have succeeded—turning Congress into a debating society on this very question. Don't let the criticizing spectators now claim that they did the work.

And here let me make a note. When, a little while hence, the country comes up to the level of negro voting, remember that, while you were lying on your oars and assuring us that, "if the country were ready for such an issue, the Baltimore Convention would have made it," we of Cleveland *were laboring to make the country ready*. When we, assisted by the honorable few whose names I know and cherish, have done so, and you come to reap our harvest, we will welcome you to the ripe grain, and not even remind you who planted it, unless, *as now*, it becomes necessary in the service of the cause.

Remember, I am not a politician, but mainly an agitator—my special work being to make *party progress possible*. I shall never succeed by doing, as you are now doing, filing down my protests against their shortcomings and joining in their support. If Lincoln is reëlected and repeats for another four years the indecision, heartlessness, and infamous pandering to negrophobia and the Slave Power which have marked his last four, no adherent of Baltimore can rebuke him, for Baltimore has renominated him with fulsome and unmixed approbation of his course. I am glad to see your protest, however slight. After another such four years, he will fairly turn to any of them now silent, who shall then blame him, and say, "Have I not gone on to do during my second term just what you praised me for in my first?"

Which party is best serving the country, that which says *just what it thinks*—"Idler, sluggard, open your eyes, wake up and work while it is day"—or the men of Baltimore, who, kneeling to a man whom half of them believe to be idler, sluggard, and blundering, cry, "How admirable your energy! how faultless your policy! Please go on and be hereafter just what you have been."

Heaven will not hold such guiltless of the evils unnecessarily brought on this bleeding land.

Respectfully yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE EDITOR'S REPLY.

Having no disposition for a controversy with Mr. Phillips on any subject, we certainly have no relish for one on such unimportant points as he has here made—omitting, as he does, the graver and only important aspects of the case. Sinking side-issues, our discussion with Mr. Phillips is on two points: first, we charged that the Cleveland platform commits him to the false and fatal position that slavery is already destroyed: and, second, that the Cleveland managers commit him to an alliance with the Copperheads for an unholy attempt to overthrow the chief loyal party of the North, on whose success the hopes of the nation hang. Giving us no reply to these criticisms, he treats us to some excellent English on other topics. But in these columns, devoted to other uses, what care we to discuss with Mr. Phillips, or he with us, the rightful or wrongful rejection of a delegation to a political convention—better left to politicians; or what is the earliest record of the proposed Constitutional Amendment—fitter for Notes and Queries; or who most deserves the crown of honor for good service to the good cause—better decided by the next generation. Nevertheless, we will endeavor to touch each point in its order, to show that Mr. Phillips is wrong not only on the main questions, but also on the minor:

I. Mr. Phillips still persists in giving the wrong reason for the denial of seats to the Port Royal delegates at Baltimore. "Every sane man," says he, "knows that South Carolina was rejected because she sent black delegates." We repeat, this is not true. On the contrary, the South Carolina gentlemen would equally have been denied had they been as white as virtue's self. If that delegation—irregularly appointed as it was, and representing not a twentieth fraction of the State—had consisted of Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, and Gov. Andrew, it would have been rightfully rejected, and we ourselves, had we been a member of the Convention instead of a spectator, would have voted for the rejection.

II. As to arbitrary arrests, we have never vindicated them so fully as Mr. Phillips himself has done. Mr. Seward's bell has always had a dismal sound in our ears—and, since we are not among his favorites, it may some day ring for *us*. When the government lately suppressed certain newspapers in this city, we called the act not a "sensible measure." Of the Arguelles case we take the same view. Of Frank Blair's case—in which the President insulted one Cabinet officer to gratify the family pride of another—we have no better opinion. But what general rule shall be laid down covering all cases? Cleveland and Baltimore each spoke on the subject. But from reading Mr. Phillips—for, notwithstanding his doubts, we have given each of his letters what Congress gives its bills, "a third reading"—we believe that his view is more completely expressed by Baltimore than by Cleveland. Of the Cleveland doctrine of arrests, Dr. Brownson, the chief expounder of that platform speaks thus disparagingly:

"We think the fourth resolution, bearing on personal liberty, is couched in terms *too unqualified*. It seems to us that there may be cases in which the public safety requires some restriction on the freedom of speech and the press, and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, when so severe and oppressive a measure as the proclamation of martial law would not be necessary or expedient. The Constitution says that 'the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.' The fair construction of this is that, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the privilege of the writ may be suspended, if required by the public safety. To hold that it can be suspended only in districts where martial law is proclaimed, would be to hold that this clause of the Constitution is either superfluous or unmeaning, for the proclamation of martial law, *ipso facto*, suspends the privilege of this writ, as it does of every other, since it suspends the civil courts themselves, and every civil process. We must not deny to government, because it has abused or may abuse it, *a power absolutely essential to the public safety that it should possess.* No loyal citizen will ever wish to deprive the government, in cases of rebellion or invasion, of the power to arrest and detain in a summary way persons who are really embarrassing it by their criminal collusion with the rebels or invaders."—*Brownson's Review July.*

This is a sensible view—a more sensible view than the Clevelond platform gives—the *same view which the Baltimore Convention gives*, as witness the following statement of it in the letter apprising the President of his renomination:

"No right, for instance, is so precious and sacred to the American heart as that of personal liberty. Its violation is regarded with just, instant, and universal jealousy. Yet, in this hour of peril, every faithful citizen concedes that, for the sake of national existence and the common welfare individual liberty may, as the Constitution provides in case of rebellion, be sometimes summarily constrained, asking only with painful anxiety that, in every instance, and to the last detail, that absolutely necessary power shall not be hastily or unwisely exercised."

We believe Mr. Phillips will admit that he agrees with Dr. Brownson, and with the Baltimore letter, rather than with the too narrow rule put forth at Cleveland.

III. He is still strenuous to show that the originators of the Cleveland movement claim the paternity of the Constitutional Amendment. It is a wise child that knows its own father! We dispute the lineage—deny the claim. Mr. Phillips is in doubt about a resolution on this subject adopted at the Anti-Slavery Decade Meeting in Philadelphia, in December, 1863. We can inform him, having ourselves been present at that meeting. The resolution was offered at the request of Charles Sumner, not of Henry Wilson. Its mover was Henry C. Wright, and its defender Aaron M. Powell. Why only one defender? Because there were no opposers! The meeting was unanimous on the point. Now why does Mr. Phillips, in honorably mentioning these two gentlemen, speak of them as "recently deemed too radical because dissatisfied with Mr. Lincoln"? Both these gentlemen, as we well know, *are in sympathy with Baltimore, and never had anything to do with Cleveland except to disapprove it!* The other gentleman whom Mr. Phillips names is Stephen S. Foster, who, indeed, was active at Cleveland, but who, unhappily for Mr. Phillips's argument, has for years past held the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution, maintaining that that instrument needed no anti-slavery amendment! Except Parker Pillsbury, the prominent Abolitionists at Cleveland not only were not early proposers of a Constitutional Amendment, but, on the contrary, were stout advocates of the Constitution unamended. These were Goodell, Cheever, Foster, Gilbert, Plumb, Alden, and others! Have we not heard Dr. Cheever shake the rafters of the Church of the Puritans with a violence of eloquence at the idea of casting shame upon the Constitution by such an amendment as would imply that the Constitution ever favored slavery? During the Summer and Fall of 1863, many minds were pondering the amendment—many drawn to the subject by Mr. Phillips's own timely warnings—many others drawn to it, as his own was, by the necessity of the case. But not one in a thousand of all these ever dreamed of the Cleveland Convention until they saw the published call for that Convention, and wondered what it meant. As to the Germans, we speak on the authority of a radical German editor when we say that the great mass of the radical Germans, even at the West, utterly reject the Cleveland movement—repudiating it from beginning to end! While lately at Washington, Mr. Lincoln informed us that the necessity for a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery became apparent to his own mind immediately on the issue of the proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863—before "the Summer and Fall"—and that the sole reason why he did not suggest it publicly was simply because many others were suggesting it, and the end was, in his judgment, being better accomplished in that way. So much for Mr. Phillips's facts!

IV. We call his attention now for the third time to the astonishing declaration in his favorite platform that slavery is already destroyed. Does not Mr. Phillips—or, at least, his supposititious "sane man"—know that the question is still undecided whether this government is to destroy slavery or slavery is to destroy the government? To say that slavery is dead is a heresy against Freedom—a delusion perilous to the best interests of the country—a seed-corn out of which a compromise may grow; and we protest against it with our utmost earnestness, not unmingled with that same indignation which Mr. Phillips felt at the dust of the Sea Islands. One of the authors of the Cleveland platform, writing to us on this very resolution, says:

"The first part of that same fifth article *is a lie*. I persisted a whole hour in the committee in pronouncing it a lie: *delusive, dangerous, fatal*. I have written and published *three solemn protests against it*. So, too, Mr. Goodell, in the same Convention, and in *The Principia*, made himself heard and felt in the same direction."

As we mentioned last week, Mr. Foster also made a similar emphatic protest. *But Mr. Phillips has made none.* We have twice urged him to make one, and by-and-by he will do it—for will he willingly stand committed to a lie? Impossible! There is a dead fly in the amber of Cleveland, and Mr. Phillips will sooner or later recover his "lost art" of picking out and damning such things. Meanwhile, however, he calls himself "more than satisfied with his position"—it is one where he stands "cheerfully and proudly." How can he have the conscience to chide our own course, saying as he does (referring to political parties), "I shall never succeed as you are doing, filing down my protests against their shortcomings and joining in their support"—while, at the same time, standing as he does with a party whose "shortcomings" are publicly protested against by its very platform makers—a party whose first salute to the country is a lie on its lips—Mr. Phillips "joins in its support" even *without* a "protest!"

Mr. Phillips scouts the idea of consistency. We honor his sentiment, within a proper range of meaning; for it is true, as Emerson says, that to call a man inconsistent is only to call him wiser to-day than yesterday. But, after all, we know of cases where "consistency is a jewel." Here is one. Mr. Phillips says that the one object of all his criticisms is "to make this government thoroughly anti-slavery." Indeed! How then can he hold up against it the argument of the Cleveland platform that slavery is already destroyed? What right has he to his living criticisms in June upon that which was already dead in May? It is just like Dr. Brownson's inconsistency in saying that "slavery will never be extirpated under Mr. Lincoln's administration"—whereas, he and his fellow Clevelanders have already confessed that slavery lies dead under this very Administration! It is well that these gentlemen do not fear the ghost of their consistency—else they might have troublesome nights.

V. The grain of salt in the Cleveland platform, which makes it savory to Mr. Phillips, is the phrase "absolute equality before the law." That clause was Mr. Pillsbury's contribution. The doctrine is one which we solemnly believe and have diligently inculcated. It will one day lie at the base of American institutions. The time will come when every American citizen, man or woman, black or white, will have a vote at the ballot-box. We have no more doubt of this than that the sun will shine on the next generation of mankind. In 1860, when the question arose in this State whether the negro should vote on the same terms with the white man, we gave our voice and pen (the little that both were worth) for the help of that cause. We have repeatedly, both in these columns and elsewhere, argued with all possible zeal that the negro is entitled to the same rights as white men, that he ought to ride in the same car, sit in the same church-pew, vote at the same polls, be eligible to the same legislature, and be nominated for the Presidency by the Cleveland Convention whenever they have the courage to take him! There are people who deem us more extreme on this subject than they deem Mr. Phillips himself. It was, therefore, somewhat unjust in our friend to intimate that by-and-by, after the country had been lifted to the level of negro-voting, we ourselves would be welcome to gather the harvest which other men had sown. We do not mean that any man shall outstrip us even in this seed-sowing—certainly not according to our ability and opportunity.

Is the question asked, Why is it, believing as we do that negroes ought to vote, we do not insist that the Baltimore platform should have adopted such a clause, or be thrown overboard? Because, as we said last week, the country is not yet ready for such an issue—otherwise that Convention would have made it. "You know the method of reform well enough to know," says Mr. Phillips truly, "that before politicians can venture to touch a measure, you and I, by outside agitation, must create a public opinion in its favor." Exactly so; and before a political party can be brought to vote for the equality of the negro, there must be a good deal more "outside agitation"—a good deal more "public opinion in its favor." We are in for the agitation heart and soul—as zealously as Mr. Phillips. But it is simply folly to push a great question to an untimely defeat at the ballot-box. Mr. Phillips holds that *women* ought to vote; but did he ask Cleveland to put the ballot into her hands? Yet long ago we went to work with Mr. Phillips, even on this far-ahead question, "to make the country ready."

But the Cleveland movement is not seeking to give a vote to the oppressed negro; not at all; it is rather seeking to win a vote from the Irish rioter, who hangs the negro. The Cleveland managers (by whom we do not mean the few excellent Abolitionists who were there as invited guests, but are dropped out of sight in the management of the campaign) have no such idea as Mr. Phillips has, or as we have, of urging a discussion in behalf of negro equality. The last thing that we shall hear of negro equality from Cleveland is what we have already heard, not to hear it again. The idea was buried in the platform, to have no resurrection in the canvass! Has Fremont, since his nomination, said a single word in favor of the negro? No. Dr. Brownson, who holds Mr. Phillips to be "mad" on this subject, thus speaks in exposition of the Cleveland idea:

"The paramount importance attached *just now to the slavery and negro questions is itself one of our greatest dangers.* It draws off attention from the action of the Administration in regard to other and more delicate questions. Let the public mind be thoroughly absorbed in the slavery and negro questions, and let the conviction be produced that the Administration is determined *to make an end of slavery and establish negro equality*, and it may violate the Constitution in its most vital principles, propose the most corrupt and corrupting schemes of reconstruction, trample on personal liberty, suppress freedom of speech and the press, establish a real civil despotism, and all unchallenged. The way every people loses its liberty is by being too exclusively absorbed in the pursuit of some special good, or the removal of some special evil.

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"Here is one of the serious dangers that threaten us. Convert the war, in the popular mind, *into an abolition war*; make it a war of the North on the South, or for imposing Northern ideas on Southern society, *and the nation, as a republican nation, is ruined forever.* Northern ideas are as much exaggerations one way as Southern ideas are another, and the people of the Northern States are, to say the least, as corrupt as the people of the Southern States.

* * * * * * *

"Fremont . . . deems the preservation of the Constitution of greater importance to liberty than even the abolition of slavery."

Does Mr. Phillips agree with these sentiments? Are not his favorite ideas made to suffer a sea-change by this *ex cathedra* Cleveland interpretation?

No, the Cleveland movement is not for the negro; it is simply for Fremont. Let Mr. Phillips go to a Fremont ratification meeting, and speak on the "absolute equality" of negroes and Irishmen, and he will be rioted out of the house. He might better lecture on Donnybrook Fair, or propose three cheers for McClellan. We are willing to join Mr. Phillips in any new and needful labors to make the country ready for the negro's fullest rights; but the Fremont meetings are just the places where such ideas are not welcome.

In going to Chicago, Fremont and Cochrane have no notion, when they get there, of saying: "Be it known unto you, O Clement Vallandigham, Horatio Seymour, and Fernando Wood, that we, the Cleveland candidates, believing in 'absolute equality before the law,' come therefore into your witnessing presence, to put the hand of Sambo into the hand of Pat, asking you to bless the banns." As yet, if the lion and the lamb are to lie down together, the lamb must be inside the lion. If Mr. Phillips regards the equality clause as "the chief gem of the crown," let him once carry it for exhibition to his Democratic allies, and he will find it a pearl cast before swine, and the swine will turn and rend him!

VI. Our charge that Mr. Phillips is in complicity with the Copperheads, giving his right hand of fellowship to a disloyal faction under the strange hallucination that he is serving Liberty, was so fully exhibited last week that we will not here restate the argument, but only add an illustration. What was the significance of John Cochrane's remark (whose lips are entitled to speak oracularly of the Cleveland designs) that Fremont and McClellan were "twin cherries on one stalk"? We commend the following exegesis of this text to the special edification of Mr. Phillips. We quote from *The World's* report of the second Fremont demonstration in this city, in front of the Metropolitan Hotel last week, Edward Gilbert presiding:

"Mr. S. Wolf, of Washington, *a member of the Fremont Committee*, being called for, was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

* * * * * * *

Rebellion crushed—our flag once more waving in its ancient lustre, Fremont, the pathfinder of radicalism elected—we will, as in the days of yore, have an American army heroic as in the past, glorious as in the present, and the dastard feet of Austria and France shall be removed from the soil of Mexico, and the LEADER of that army shall be the patriot, warrior, and Christian, New York's favorite son, *Gen.* GEORGE B. McCLELLAN (loud cheers)."

Persimmons are easy swallowing in such alum as this! We think that Mr. Phillips, who said in May that he would not for a million dollars go for McClellan, will hardly get this down without a wry face!

Our friend need not fear that our criticisms will gain a wider hearing than his letters. The Copperhead journals have already caught up his first letter, and, dissevering it from our answer, just as if no answer had been made, are themselves busy like goldsmiths, gilding his name with praise! We commend to Mr. Phillips the example of that other great orator who asked himself, "What folly have I been uttering that these fellows cheer me?" If Mr. Phillips does not see the irremediable harmfulness of his present position, his friends see it, and suffer in their hearts for his sake. We are not politicians more than he—less, indeed—for *we* never represented our own ward in a political meeting! Nor are we champions of the Baltimore Convention: on the contrary, we have been its critic. Still less are we the laurel-crowners of the present Administration. We believe we have honestly preserved our plain-spokenness. But it is not in our hearts to grumble at everything. Mr. Phillips has for months demanded a Constitutional Amendment, as the one security needed to salve over the many uncertainties of the President's Proclamation. But now that the great party of the Administration proposes to accede to Mr. Phillips's demand, Mr. Phillips turns away in scorn and joins the enemy! On the 4th of July, Tammany Hall passed an indignant resolve against the government for not sinking the Alabama. After the resolution was sent to the newspapers, the news came of her sinking, and Hiram Walbridge magnanimously ran up and down in a hurry, on a warm day, perspiringly round from newspaper to newspaper, to withdraw the resolution before it got into type! Alas that we cannot so commend Mr. Phillips who, after censuring the Administration for not doing what he asked, and after he finally was granted all he asks, takes back no censure, but only scolds the more! Unsuccessful as the Administration has proved itself, we shall not join with Mr. Phillips in any attempt to give the next term into the keeping of Copperheads. This is what Mr. Phillips is doing, and this is what we mainly criticized him for, but he makes no reply to this criticism. Keeping silent as to the weightier charges, he files replies only on minor points. We leave the case, therefore, as it stands—a parallel to the Deacon's case in Connecticut, who, being charged with scandalously drinking brandy and water, replied on his defense, as Mr. Phillips has replied, "Dear friends, I deny the water."

WHY MR. CHASE RESIGNED.

From The Tribune.

IT is not true, as has been represented, that Mr. Chase resigned because of a difference with the President respecting appointments; though this story, unlike the other, has a color of truth. Gov. Chase has been perplexed with regard to the most important post of Assistant Treasurer in this city. At his urgent solicitation, Mr. Cisco (whom Mr. Chase found in the office) has most reluctantly held over until now; always anxious to retire, and at last determined to hold on no longer. He was fully resolved to leave on the 1st inst. Mr. Chase thereupon cast about for a successor. There were men enough eager for the place; there were some who were fit for it; but, men at once fit for it and willing to take it were scarce. (The salary is $6,000 per annum; the sureties must become bound for $400,000 and justify in double the amount; the money to be handled often exceeds ten million per day.) Mr. Chase urged it successively on three eminent Republicans, not one of whom would look at it. Then he proposed his Assistant, Mr. Maunsel B. Field, who had been Mr. Cisco's deputy for years, and was thoroughly conversant with the duties of the office.

This name was not acceptable to the President—or rather, to leading politicians whose wishes the President felt bound to regard. Three names were presented by those politicians—names of good and true men—yet none of them seemed to Mr. Chase precisely what the place demanded. He thereupon solicited of the President a personal conference wherein to compare notes and adjust the matter—which was not accorded. Mr. Chase thereupon felt that his usefulness as a member of the Cabinet was fatally impaired—that he no longer enjoyed that perfect and unreserved confidence of his superior which was essential to the efficient and successful discharge of his important and onerous duties; so he asked to be relieved from further service, and his request was promptly complied with. Such are, in substance and spirit, the reasons for Mr. Chase's withdrawal at this juncture from the public service. We trust that, in the hands of his eminently able and thoroughly upright successor, the vast National interests centering in the Treasury Department are as safe as they could be had Mr. Chase remained their guardian.

ANDY JOHNSON AND THE AMNESTY.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

IT is a very noticeable fact that while the Baltimore Convention specially approved of the President's freedom proclamation and other leading measures of the Administration, it preserved a very significant silence upon the subject of the President's amnesty and reconstruction proclamation. The reason is that the Convention did not approve of the latter, as any one can see by reading the words it used. Following this demonstration on the part of the Nominating Convention was a movement of a very marked and important character. It consisted of a request formally made to the President by the Tennessee delegation to Baltimore, headed by Maynard and Brownlow, and which represented the claims of Andrew Johnson for the nomination he received, that he should withdraw his amnesty until the war was closed. The natural, if not the necessary, inference is that in this matter the delegation reflected the views of Mr. Johnson. Of the fact there can be no doubt, because, as Military Governor of Tennessee, Johnson last Fall took an open position against the operation of the amnesty, in prescribing an additional oath to the one required by the amnesty for all voters to take. True, this was done with the President's sanction, but it shows what the views of Governor Johnson upon the policy of the amnesty are. But Governor Johnson has given a yet more explicit declaration of his views upon that policy. In the speech made by him at Nashville, upon receiving intelligence of his nomination at Baltimore, he uses these words:

"I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the rebellion has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship and sought to destroy our government. We say to the most honest and industrious foreigner who comes from England or Germany to dwell among us, and to add to the wealth of the country, 'Before you can be a citizen, you must stay here for five years.' If we are so cautious about foreigners who voluntarily renounce their homes to live with us, what should we say to the traitor, who, although born and reared among us, has raised a parricidal hand against the government which always protected him? My judgment is that he should be subjected to a severe ordeal before he is restored to citizenship. A fellow who takes the oath merely to save his property, and denies the validity of the oath, is a perjured man and not to be trusted.

"Before these repenting rebels can be trusted, let them bring forth the fruits of repentance."

These are plain words. They need no interpretation. A policy which allows the rebel soldier, fresh from the slaughter of Union men upon the battle-fields of the South, to raise his hand yet red with loyal blood to take the oath of allegiance, that he may the next moment vote to defeat the will of loyal men, meets no countenance there. Who doubts, however, that Johnson speaks the sentiment of nine-tenths of the members of the Union party?

NATIONAL PROGRESS.

[HENRY C. WRIGHT, in a letter to *The Liberator*, makes the following record of events, touching the abolition of slavery, that have occurred since the inauguration of President Lincoln, and under an Administration which some very extravagant, one-sided and microscopic, though doubtless very sincere friends of freedom, insist is "more infamous than that of Buchanan or Pierce"!]

1. Emancipation in Western Virginia.
2. Emancipation in Missouri.
3. Emancipation in the District of Columbia.
4. Emancipation in Maryland.
5. Slavery abolished and forever prohibited in all the Territories.
6. Kansas admitted as a free State.
7. Provision made to admit Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada as free States.
8. Organization of Idaho, Montana, Dacotah and Arizona as free Territories.
9. Recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia.
10. Three millions of slaves declared free by Proclamation of the President, January 1, 1863.
11. All Fugitive Slave laws repealed.
12. Inter-state slave trade abolished.
13. Negroes admitted to equal rights in United States Courts, as parties to suits and as witnesses.
14. Equality of the negro recognized in the public conveyances of the District of Columbia.
15. All rebel States prohibited from returning to the Union with slavery.
16. Free labor established on numerous plantations in South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Arkansas.
17. Schools for the education of freed slaves in South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and in Eastern Virginia—where, till within three years, to educate the negro was punishable with death.
18. The wives and children of all slaves employed as freemen in military and other service of the United States made free.
19. All negroes, bond and free, enrolled as part of the military force of the nation.
20. The loyal people of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Florida seeking a return to the Union on the basis of freedom to all, and of the abolition and prohibition of slavery.
21. The abolition and prohibition of slavery by an amendment of the Constitution passed in the Senate by a two-thirds majority, and by nearly the same in the House. Lost by lack of three or four votes, through the influence of Democratic members.
22. The nation, through its representatives in Baltimore, June 8, made the abolition and prohibition of slavery the basis of its governmental administration for the future.
23. The Federal government forbidden to employ any man as a *slave* in any capacity.
24. One hundred and fifty thousand negroes, mostly freed slaves, in the pay and uniform of the government as soldiers.

Though much remains to be done to redeem the enslavers as well as the enslaved from the moral blight of slavery, yet thus much has been done. The nation is on its way to the full recognition of the equality and manhood of the negro before the law. Then, and only then, will the republic be the home of the free and the asylum of the oppressed. Then and only then will it be saved with an everlasting salvation. The wrongs of the negro are being *righted.*

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

GOV. SEWARD ON FOREIGN ENLISTMENTS.

LETTER COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 25, 1864.

To the President:

THE Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolution of the Senate of the 24th instant, requesting the President to inform that body "if any authority has been given any one, either in this country or elsewhere, to obtain recruits in Ireland or Canada for our army or navy; and whether any such recruits have been obtained, or whether, to the knowledge of the government, Irishmen or Canadians have been induced to emigrate to this country in order to be recruited; and if so, what measures, if any, have been adopted in order to arrest such conduct," has the honor, in reply to the inquiries thus submitted, to report that no authority has been given by the Executive of this government, or by any executive department, to any one, either in this country or elsewhere, to obtain recruits either in Ireland or in Canada, or in any foreign country, for either the army or the navy of the United States; and, on the contrary, that whenever application for such authority has been made it has been refused and absolutely withheld.

If any such recruits have been obtained, either in the provinces named in the resolution or in any foreign country, they have been obtained by persons who are not even citizens of the United States, but subjects or citizens of the country where the recruits were obtained. The persons who obtained such recruits, if any were so obtained, were amenable to the laws of the foreign province or country where their offences were committed, and at the same time they were not within the reach of our own laws and tribunals; and such persons acted without authority or consent, and even without the knowledge of this government. This government has no knowledge that any such recruits have been obtained in the provinces named, or in any foreign country. In two or three instances it has been reported to this department that recruiting agents crossed the Canadian frontier, without authority, with a view to engage recruits or reclaim deserters. The complaints thus made were immediately investigated, the proceedings of such recruiting agents were promptly disavowed and condemned, the recruits or deserters, if any had been brought into the United States, were at once returned, and the offending agents were dismissed from the public service.

In the land and naval forces of the United States there are found not only some Canadians, some Englishmen and some Irishmen, but also many subjects of Continental European powers. All of these persons were voluntary immigrants into the United States. They enlisted after their arrival on our shores of their own free accord, within our own limits and jurisdiction, and not in any foreign country. The Executive government has no knowledge of the nature of the special inducements which led these volunteers to emigrate from their native countries, or of the purposes for which they emigrated. It has, however, neither directly or indirectly invited their immigration by any offers of employment in the military or naval service. When such persons were found within the United States, exactly the same inducements to military service were open to them which by authority of law were offered at the same time to citizens of the United States.

Having thus answered the inquiries contained in the resolution of the Senate, the Secretary of State might here, without impropriety, close this report. Nevertheless, the occasion is a proper one for noticing complaints on the subject of recruitment in our army and navy which have recently found utterance in the British House of Lords. The Secretary of State has, therefore, further to report that the government of the United States has practiced the most scrupulous care in preventing and avoiding in Great Britain, and in all other foreign countries, any

violation of international or municipal laws in regard to the enlistment of soldiers and seamen.

Moreover, when the British government, or any other foreign government, has complained of any alleged violation of the rights of its subjects within the United States, this government has listened to the complaints patiently, investigated them promptly, and, when redress was found due and was practicable, has cheerfully accorded it. This government, on the other hand, has been obliged to submit in the ordinary way grave complaints of the enlistment, equipment and periodical payment, in British ports, of seamen and mariners employed in making unauthorized war from such ports against the United States.

It is a notorious fact, manifest to all the world, that a vigorous and continual tide of emigration is flowing from Europe, and especially from portions of the British empire, and from Germany and Sweden, into the United States. This immigration, like the immigration which preceded it, results from the reciprocal conditions of industrial and social life in Europe and America. Of the mass of immigrants who arrive on our shores, far the largest number go immediately into the occupations of peaceful industry. Those, on the contrary, who are susceptible to the attractions of military life voluntarily enter the national service with a similar class of our own native citizens, upon the same equal inducements and with the same patriotic motives. There is no law of nations and no principle of international comity which requires us to refuse their aid in the cause of the country and of humanity.

The government does not repudiate or discourage immigration. The government frankly avows that it encourages immigration from all countries, but only by open, lawful and honorable agencies and means. However statesmen in other countries may have at the beginning misunderstood the nature and direction of the present civil war, that nature and that direction were not misunderstood by the government of the United States. It was foreseen here that the seditious attempt to divide the American Union, if not discouraged by other commercial and maritime powers, would not merely produce great commercial and social embarrassement in the United States, but that, if it should be persisted in and protracted, it must seriously disturb the commerce and industry of other nations. Upon this ground, among others, the government of the United States earnestly remonstrated with foreign states against their award of unusual commercial and belligerent privileges to the insurgents, in derogation of the sovereignty of the United States. When, however, it was fully disclosed that the insurrection aimed at nothing less than to separate fifteen of these States from the rest, and to re-establish them within our own lawful territory, as one single independent nation, upon the foundation of African slavery, this government did not hesitate, so far as authorized by law, to draw upon all the resources of the country, and to call into activity all the energies of the American people to prevent so great a crime. It further resolved to devote its best efforts, within the limits of international law and the Constitution of the United States—first, to bring African slavery to an end throughout the world; and secondly, to strengthen the interest of free labor upon the American continent. It recognized and entered into commercial relations with free States founded on African colonization. It refused a market for slaves, and it pursues the slave-trader on the high seas, and denies to him an asylum on our shores. On the contrary, it invites honest and industrious freemen hither from all parts of the world, and gives them free homes and ample fields, while it opens to them virgin mines and busy workshops, with all the privileges of perfect civil and religious liberty. So far as increase of immigration has resulted from the action of the government during the present civil war, it is due exclusively to what has thus lawfully been done with those two ends of extinguishing slavery and fortifying freedom always in view. Nor has this government any reason to be disappointed with the results. The country has sustained a very destructive war for the period of three years. Yet it is not here that national resources or cr[illegible]it fails. It is not here that patriots are wanti[illegible]ng to defend the country of their birth or thei[illegible] choice; nor is it here that miners, farmers, mer[illegible]hants, artisans and laborers lack either subsist[illegible]ence or employment with abundant rewards. T[illegible]e number of slaves is rapidly diminishing, an[illegible] the number of freemen continues to augment [illegible], even during the convulsions of domestic [illegible], more rapidly than ever a free population advanced in any other country, or even in our own.

Respectfully submitted.

William H. Seward.

THE ALLEGED FEDERAL ENLISTMENTS IN IRELAND.

From The Bedfordshire (Eng.) Mercury.

The ineffectual attempt of Lord Clanricarde to raise the war-whoop against the United States government has resulted only in discomfiture and disgrace to the party of which his lordship was the mouthpiece in the Upper House on Thursday night. This Irish landlord's anger at his countrymen preferring the high wages and free farms of the Northern States to the semi-starvation and rural serfdom of their native land, is really so absurd and so transparent that no explanation is necessary. The readiness with which the sons of Erin leave old Ireland is to be accounted for on other grounds than the rich bounties offered by recruiting officers from the other side of the Atlantic. The cruel evictions that are constantly occurring in the sister kingdom are surely of themselves sufficient to suggest the advisability of its down-trodden peasantry seeking a more hospitable clime; and when we learn that in eight years the sum of eight million sterling has been received in this country from those who have emigrated to the United States, for the purpose of paying the passage of their friends, we cannot be surprised at the present mighty Exodus. Lord Clanricarde and his sympathizers must now lament in vain. They have so long withheld justice from Ireland, that now that the tide has set in they find it cannot be checked. Such ingratitude towards landlords who have been so deeply interested in the welfare of their tenants is exceedingly reprehensible, doubtless. But what cannot be cured must be endured. Professor Goldwin Smith ironically remarks—"No doubt these youths are acting under a lamentable delusion. When we consider how full of happiness and dignity is the lot of the Irish peasant, how abounding in comfort and in plenty is the cabin which he shares with swine, how secure is his tenure of the land by which alone he can subsist, how bright a vista of hope always opens itself before him—and when we consider that he is throwing up all this for a service in which he will be very highly paid, be supplied in a way which the correspondents of our Southern journals denounce as prodigal, and stand a very good chance perhaps of being shot, but also a good chance, with valor and talent, of rising to high rank—we shall not be surprised to see tears run down the cheeks of the friends of humanity among the Irish landlords. They will mingle with the tears of persons of quality and their journalists at the effusion of blood in the cause of a republic, and with the tears of the slave-owners at the cruel emancipation of the happy and contented slave."

REPEAL OF LAWS RECOGNIZING SLAVERY.

From The National Intelligencer, July 8.

While the bill making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the government for the year ending the 30th of June, 1865, was under consideration in the Senate, Mr. Senator Sumner moved certain amendments to which we referred at the time in our brief summary of Congressional proceedings, but which, for their interest and importance, are worthy of a more particular designation.

On the 24th ult., while the bill was under discussion in the Senate, as in the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Sumner submitted the following amendment to come in as a new section:

"*And be it further enacted*, That sections eight and nine of the act entitled 'An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States from and after the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1808,' which said sections undertake to regulate the coastwise slave trade, are hereby repealed."

The amendment was opposed by Mr. Sherman (who had the civil appropriation bill in charge) on the ground of its alleged irrelevancy. To this effect he said:

"I would not oppose the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts on an ordinary bill. I have read the two sections referred to in this amendment, and I feel disposed to repeal them; but I ask the Senate if it is proper to incumber this bill with a matter that is in no way connected with the appropriations in the bill; which is in no way connected with any item contained in the bill, which has no pertinence to any existing appropriation—a matter simply of commercial regulation, regulating the coastwise slave trade?"

Some dissent to the terms of Mr. Sumner's amendment was expressed by Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, on other grounds, when Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, spoke as follows:

"I am surprised that any Senator should oppose the proposition of the Senator from Massachusetts, for we all know that eventually it will be adopted. The objection as to its materiality or proper connection with this measure is but an objection of time. No gentleman can question that the Senator from Massachusetts will eventually carry his proposition. Why, sir, about two weeks ago this body, after full discussion, deliberately voted that the Constitution imposed a duty upon Congress and the President of the United States; the present incumbent of the presidential chair in his inaugural address said that that rested as an oath upon the conscience of every Senator to see that there was an efficient and adequate law for the return of fugitive slaves; and yet under some process, not the force of argument, but through some influence that the uninitiated cannot understand, after the Senate had rejected the proposition in its original form, it was carried through yesterday by a large vote. Why then contest the matter longer? Let the Senator bring his propositions. The Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) made an effort to stay the progress at one point upon the Constitution, and did for a while save the act of 1793 and the signature of George Washington; but the Senator from Ohio finally failed yesterday, and it all went by the board. He may for this hour and in this debate, upon a technical point, prevent the adoption of the measure of the Senator from Massachusetts upon this bill, but that it will come in this body I have no doubt. It may as well come now as at any time."

On the following day, the 25th of June, the bill still being under discussion in the Committee of the Whole, a vote was had on Mr. Sumner's amendment, and it was rejected by the following vote. (The amendment, we should add, had in the meantime been perfected by its author so as to provide not only for the repeal of the sections designated in the act regulating the coastwise slave trade, but to prohibit that trade forever):

Yeas—Messrs. Conness, Grimes, Harlan, Howard, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sprague, Sumner, Wade, and Wilson—13.

Nays—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Clark, Collamer, Cowan, Davis, Harris, Hendricks, Hicks, Howe, Johnson, McDougall, Nesmith, Powell, Richardson, Riddle, Saulsbury, Sherman, Trumbull, and Van Winkle—20.

Absent—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harding, Henderson, Lane of Indiana, Ten Eyck, Wilkinson, Willey, and Wright—16.

So the amendment was rejected in Committee of the Whole. But, nothing baffled by such a result, Mr. Sumner again offered the same amendment on the same day when the bill was before the Senate pending its final passage. On renewing the proposition he said:

"I have but one observation to make. It seems to me this Congress will do wrong to itself, wrong to the country, wrong to history, wrong to our national cause if it separates without cleaning the statute-book of every support of slavery. Now, this is the last support that there is in the statute-book, and I entreat the Senate to remove it."

The question being taken by yeas and nays, resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Conness, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Harlan, Harris, Howard, Howe, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—23.

Nays—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Clark, Hendricks, Hicks, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, Nesmith, Powell, Richardson, Saulsbury, Sherman, Trumbull, Van Winkle, and Willey—14.

Absent—Messrs. Collamer, Cowan, Davis, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harding, Henderson, McDougall, Ramsey, Riddle, and Wright—12.

So the amendment was agreed to, and remained in the bill as finally passed by both Houses of Congress and approved by the President.

It will be seen that Mr. Sumner, at this point of the discussion, referred to this regulation of the coastwise slave trade as "the last support of slavery" on the statute-book of the nation. He used this language because on the same day, in an earlier stage of the discussion, he had procured the adoption of an amendment providing that in the courts of the United States there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color.

The third section of the civil appropriation bill appropriated $100,000 in order to aid the administration of justice, especially in order to bring to conviction persons engaged in counterfeiting Treasury notes, bonds, or other securities of the United States, as well as the coin of the United States. In order to accomplish that result something more than an appropriation of money was deemed by Mr. Sumner to be needed, to wit, an amendment of the law of evidence. Accordingly he offered the following amendment by way of proviso to the third section:

"*Provided*, That in the courts of the United States there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color."

On motion of Mr. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, the amendment was amended so as to provide that there should be in the same courts no exclusion of any witness "in civil actions because he is a party to or interested in the issue tried." And the question being taken on the amendment as thus amended, it was decided in the affirmative by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Conness, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Sprague, Sumner, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—22.

Nays—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Cowan, Davis, Harris, Hendricks, Hicks, Johnson, Nesmith, Powell, Richardson, Saulsbury, Sherman, Trumbull, Van Winkle, and Willey—16.

Absent—Messrs. Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Harding, Henderson, Lane of Indiana, McDougall, Ramsey, Riddell, Ten Eyck, and Wright—11.

So the amendment was agreed to in Committee of the Whole, and when it came up for final action by the Senate, was reaffirmed as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Harris, Howard, Howe, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—29.

Nays—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Hendricks, Hicks, Nesmith, Powell, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Van Winkle, and Wilson—10.

Absent—Messrs. Collamer, Cowan, Davis, Harding, Henderson, Johnson, McDougall, Richardson, Riddle, and Wright—10.

This provision is, therefore, now the law of the land.

The success of Mr. Senator Sumner in procuring, on a previous day of the session just closed, against all opposition and dilatory motions, the passage of "An act to repeal the Fugitive Slave act of 1850, and all acts and parts of acts for the rendition of fugitive slaves," was a still higher tribute to his acknowledged leadership in the body of which he is a member. When this measure was first introduced by him in the Senate it was, after much discussion, passed in a shape which still retained the provisions of the law of 1793 under this head, as approved by President Washington. Many Republican Senators expressly stated in open Senate that, under a sense of what was due to the oath they had taken to support the Constitution of the United States, they could not vote to repeal all acts for the rendition of fugitive slaves. This view was elaborately urged and eloquently enforced by Mr. Senator Foster, of Connecticut, in a speech which we have printed at length. And this view prevailed in the Senate on the 19th of April last, when Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, offered the following amendment to the bill as originally introduced by Mr. Sumner to repeal all acts for the reclamation of fugitive slaves:

"Except the act approved February 2, 1793, entitled 'An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters.'"

The question on the amendment being taken by yeas and nays, resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Callamer, Cowan, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Foster, Harris, Henderson, Hendricks, Howe, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, McDougall, Nesmith, Powell, Riddle, Saulsbury, Sherman, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, and Willey—24.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Clark, Conness, Fessenden, Grimes, Hale, Howard, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sprague, Sumner, Wilkinson, and Wilson—17.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Some weeks later the House of Representatives passed a bill for the repeal of all these statutes in the same terms as that originally introduced by Mr. Sumner in the Senate, and this bill having been sent to the latter body was on the 21st ult, called up for consideration by Mr. Sumner.

Mr. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, moved to postpone it for the purpose of taking up the bill providing for a repeal of the commutation clause in the enrollment act. Thereupon Mr. Sumner spoke as follows:

"The speech of the Senator belongs to the class of what may be called dilatory motions, or a speech to sustain a dilatory motion. He announces to us that there is to be an opposition to this bill, and mentions several Senators who menace speeches. If those speeches are to come, I say let us hear them and be done with them, because that bill from the House must be passed by Congress during this session. The Senator wishes to have it postponed; he wishes to set aside what the House has done; and he thinks that those who press the bill which now has the sanction of the House want practical sense. Sir, permit me to say to that Senator it is himself who wants practical sense. He fails to see the requirements of his country at this hour; he fails to see what is due to the civilization of the age; and in that respect he shows a want of practical sense in the highest degree. Sir, I do not wish to say anything personal to that Senator, but when he makes the suggestion that any one on this floor wants practical sense, I throw it back upon him; when he stands up here to arrest a bill that has already passed the House of Representatives to sweep from the statute-book of the land a system of legislation which at this moment is an infamy. If there is anything which now brings our cause in foreign lands discredit, and makes it a burden to our friends, it is this very act which at this moment receives indirectly the support of the Senator from Wisconsin; and yet he rises here to taunt us for the want of practical sense. Sir, when he seeks to uphold even indirectly this act he wants practical patriotism as well as practical sense."

On the 23d of June Mr. Sumner succeeded in bringing the Senate to a vote on the bill. Immediately previous to the final vote Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, moved to except from the scope of the bill the act of 1793, thus calling on the Senate to adhere to the stand it had solemnly taken on the 19th of April. But his amendment to this effect was now rejected by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Cowan, Davis, Harris, Hicks, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, McDougall, Powell, Richardson, Riddle, Saulsbury, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, and Willey—17.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Dixon, Fessenden, Foot, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sprague, Sumner, Wade, and Wilson—22.

Absent—Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Foster, Harding, Henderson, Hendricks, Nesmith, Sherman, Wilkinson, and Wright—10.

The difference of this result, as compared with that reached on the same proposition on the 19th of April, arose from the fact that among those who at the former date had voted to retain the Fugitive Slave law of 1793, Messrs. Dixon and Howe changed their votes, while Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Foster, Hendricks, Henderson, Nesmith, and Sherman were absent or did not vote on the latter occasion.

The question then being taken on the final passage of the bill, it was decided in the affirmative by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Dixon, Fessenden, Foot, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Harris, Hicks, Howard, Howe, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—27.

Nays—Messrs. Buckalew, Carlile, Cowan, Davis, Johnson, McDougall, Powell, Richardson, Riddle, Saulsbury, Van Winkle, and Willey—12.

Absent—Messrs. Collamer, Doolittle, Foster, Harding, Henricks, Nesmith, Sherman, Wilkinson, and Wright—10.

So the bill was passed as it came from the House of Representatives, and in the same terms as Mr. Sumner had conceived his original bill on the subject.

We have referred to these acts of legislation, and to the leading part which Senator Sumner had in their enactment, because their passage serves to mark a new epoch in our parliamentary history. It is no reflection on the talents or influence of any other member of the Senate to say that these measures could not have been passed under the direction of any Senator less tenacious in his convictions of public duty or less capable of enforcing them by argument than the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. His political friends in many instances would have willingly evaded or postponed them, but we see in what he was able to accomplish, in the face of this obvious reluctance, only a new illustration of the supremacy fairly achieved by those who wish strongly where they wish at all. Mr. Sumner is an earnest anti-slavery man, and if there were those among his political friends who at first sought, for one reason or another, to escape some of the conclusions to which he challenged their adhesion, he finally succeeded in vindicating for his measures either the active support or passive acquiescence of the recalcitrants in his party, with the single exception, we believe, of Mr. Cowan, of Pennsylvania....

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1864.

THE WAY OF SUCCESS.

The crisis of our National distemperature seems to have now actually arrived. We have had many false crises, the threatening symptoms of which have passed by and our constitutional condition relapsed into the morbid state which had seemed to be becoming chronic. But the time appears now to have arrived when the patient is either to throw off the disease, or the disease to overpower the patient. We have no fears as to which it will be. The power of eliminating a distemper from the system is in proportion to the natural strength of constitution, the general good habits and the favorable conditions of the afflicted party. The reserves of vitality differ in different complexions, and the chances of recovery in one case over another are generally in proportion to their amount and quality. It is a recent discovery of medical science, we believe, that disease is but the healthful effort of Nature to rid herself of morbific agencies which have intruded themselves into the vital domain or been abnormally generated there. And it is with the distempers of Nations as with those of individuals, they are struggles to restore the true relations of the vital parts which have been disturbed, to reduce the redundant development and undue proportions of some of them, or to bring into wholesome action such as have been dwarfed or paralyzed by neglect or misuse, and to expel whatever foreign mischief may have stolen into the citadel of life. In political as in physical maladies the true method of cure consists in the discovery of the laws of life which have been violated, and of which they are the necessary penalties, and in resolute and sagacious endeavors to earn exemption from the punishment by a conscientious return to conformity with the violated laws. All attempts to evade this radical treatment and to unite the practice of disobedience with exemption from pain and premature dissolution is as vain in the case of a Nation as of an individual. The drunkard must cease to intoxicate and the glutton to gorge himself, if he would heal the diseases consequent on excess and enjoy the pleasures belonging to health. The Nation that has vitiated its life-blood by injustice, oppression, cruelty and meanness, must cease from doing these evil things, and not only learn to do well, but actually do it, before it can recover or attain to that perfect freedom and true prosperity which constitute the health and life of nations.

The American Nation was so thoroughly infected with the black plague of slavery, its veins were so full of its venom, its whole head was so sick and its whole heart so faint with its poisonous taint, that such an outbreak as this civil war could not be avoided, in the nature of things. The only alternative was between dying at once a loathsome and dishonored death and struggling through the agony of the painful disorder which might prevail against it and cast it out. Every attempt at palliation and postponing of the evil day had been exhausted during forty years—not to say seventy-five—and the impossibility of combining health with disease, life with death, freedom with slavery, was only made more and more apparent. The Nation might have laid down and died, as the slaveholders and their Northern abettors believed that it would in 1861, and gone down into the dishonored grave into which dead nations who have shown themselves unfit to live have disappeared into darkness. But it had life and vigor enough left to shrink from this extremity of infamy and to choose a desperate struggle for life rather than an ignominious submission to despotism. Hence this war, in which the elements of health and disease are fiercely struggling together for the mastery. We have faith to believe that the victory will be on the side of the Nation, from the very strength of constitution and vital energy which have enabled it to put forth such gigantic efforts. The disease will be overcome. Health will be restored. And though an interval of depression and reaction must intervene, a normal condition will be attained, the dregs of the distemper dissipated, and true health and vigor will be enjoyed by it in a measure never dreamed of before. We believe that this blessed result would have been reached earlier, had the physicians who had the case in charge understood their business better. Had they discerned the laws of Nature which were thus resenting their defiant and persistent violation, and applied themselves to returning at once to obedience to them, instead of trying to evade the punishment inseparable from their continued breach, the cure would have been long since effected. Had wisdom instead of cunning inspired the treatment of the case, and the palliatives and panaceas of quackery been eschewed, the distemper would not have gained such head, or would have been healed already or in the way of cure. But this was too much to expect. The physicians had first to heal themselves. The glamour of the epidemic delirium was before their eyes, too, and it was not till they were driven to it by dire necessity that they ventured with uncertain hands to try the only effectual remedies. We have feared at times that their eyes may have been opened too late. But we think there is reason to hope that the constitution of the patient may yet prove more than a match for the virulence of the disease and the blunders of the physicians.

The analogies between the operations of the laws of Nature as affecting the body personal and the body politic are so many and so striking that we have been led to pursue them perhaps a little too far. Yet this doctrine lies at the root of all human happiness and prosperity, and cannot be too curiously considered. To discover and to obey the Divine laws is the business and the reward of human study and human effort. And the measure in which a true success depends upon the degree in which this is done, is written upon every page of public and private history. This war has been full of proofs of the truth of what we have here asserted. We began by endeavoring to put down the rebellion and maintain slavery intact at the same time. To do for the rebels, in other words, exactly what they had taken up arms to do for themselves. Failure necessarily followed. Disaster and defeat dogged the steps of our armies as long as we attempted to hold the chain of the negro with one hand while we fought his traitorous master with the other. Bull Run and Ball's Bluff were followed by McClellan's disgraceful campaign in the Peninsula and his ridiculous flight away from it. When the true way of escape dawned upon the mind of the President and he struck at the heart of the mischief by his proclamation of Emancipation, and consented to summon to his aid the allies the most dreaded by the enemy and the most assured in their fidelity to himself, the tide of success began to turn and has set, on the whole, though with many a retiring ebb, in our favor. What has hindred us of a more complete success has been the half-hearted faith which has inspired these measures and robbed them of half their energy. Had the President abolished slavery everywhere as well as in the rebel region, the Border States would have been purged of that mischief ere now and effectually cured of their more than semi-secessionism. Had he stimulated recruiting in the subdued States, or even permitted it to have its natural course, he might have had two hundred thousand more brave soldiers with loyalty put beyond peradventure by the marks of the chains upon their wrists and of the lash upon their backs. And had he urged upon Congress the justice which should put black men who risked more than their lives for a country to which they owed no gratitude on an equality with white men, new zeal and enthusiasm would have been breathed into their breasts. These errors have been in a good measure, though not entirely, remedied under the stern compulsion of necessity. Maryland is emancipated, Missouri will not be long behindhand, and the ingratitude which has rewarded the President's indulgence towards Kentucky has compelled him to place her under the stringency of martial law, under which compulsion we may hope that the unwelcome blessing of freedom may also reach her reluctant slave-breeders. And whatever is yet lacking to the full measure of justice meted out to the black troops, we believe will yet be extorted by our needs, if not by our sense of right.

We believe that it is thus that we have advanced to the good measure of success that we have had, and that it is by a continuing and an advancing in well-doing that we shall gain the crown of victory which now, not dubiously, is discerned in the near distance. The rumors of rebel successes in Maryland, near Baltimore and not far from Washington, we regard but as the "lightning before death" of the rebellion. Even should both these cities fall into the temporary possession of the enemy, it would not change our firm conviction that it is desperation of which this raid is the sign. But they will not fall into the hands of the enemy. It is not credible that the near populations of Maryland and Pennsylvania, aided by the forces of Sigel and Hunter, with the addition of such reinforcement as Grant can spare without detriment to his more important operations, will not suffice to drive the marauders back, if not to capture or destroy them. Such an endeavor as this was to be anticipated, and, we believe, was by no means unexpected or unprepared for. That the rebellion is soon to be substantially crushed we hold to be as demonstrable as any event can be that depends on human actions. It may linger out a precarious and mischievous existence for awhile, but its vitality will be crushed out of it, and that soon. If so, it will be because we have learned through suffering to be wise, and our success will be in just proportion to our true wisdom. And this not merely in the matter of the material victory, but in the yet more momentous concern of the peace which we shall organize out of that success.

NEGROPHOBIA IN NASHVILLE.

HONORABLE CONDUCT OF COL. MUSSEY.

Nashville, Tenn., July 6.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Enclosed I send the letter of Col. R. D. Mussey, commanding the organization of U. S. colored troops at this post, in response to a personal invitation requesting his attendance at the celebration of the Fourth, but excluding his command from the procession. The stand taken by Col. Mussey is indeed noble, and shows him eminently fitted for the position he occupies. Though not included in the popular invitations to march, the colored troops made a fine display on the streets of Nashville on the Fourth, and commanded the earnest respect of the unprejudiced part of the people. Their music was excellent, their whole appearance creditable to themselves and their officers. Col. Mussey, in the course he pursued, has given evidence that he possesses the traits of character so requisite in these times which try men's souls. The noble man and the true patriot! let his name be cherished as one who would not accept for himself any consideration that did not extend to his command, thus claiming for the colored regiments the same respectful attentions shown to white soldiers.

Very truly yours, Mary F. Thomas.

We thank Mrs. Thomas for sending us Col. Mussey's letter, which we here put on record as a noble and timely rebuke of the mean and debasing spirit of caste which still so extensively prevails in this country.

Headquarters Com'd Organization
U. S. Colored Troops,
Nashville, July 3, 1864.

Mr. W. S. Cheatham, *Chairman Com., etc.*:

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge an invitation for "the pleasure of my company at the Celebration of our National Anniversary on the ensuing Fourth of July, at Fort Gillem on Jefferson street extended."

The invitation was dated June 30th. I answer it at this late moment because I have been disposed to give you all possible opportunity to invite also the troops with whose organization I have been connected, and who to-day form the largest portion, numerically, of the forces at Nashville. Your Committee has seen fit to omit them from its invitation to parade. With that omitted portion you know I am connected: the title by which you addressed me comes from my connection with them.

As these troops are orderly, present a good appearance, and are, considering their opportunities, well drilled, your conduct in omitting them and inviting me, who am nothing but by virtue of my connection with them, either is studiedly insulting, or betrays a lamentably limited experience of honorable sensibilities.

I cannot, sir, accept any invitation to a military display where other Colonels march their troops while mine are excluded.

The Declaration of Independence, whose formal adoption makes the Fourth of July sacred, affirms as an axiom that

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

And until you, sir, and your committee learn this fundamental truth, till you can invite all the defenders of their country to participate in your celebration, be they black or be they white, your "celebrations of our National Anniversary" are mocking farces, insults to the illustrious dead, and blasphemy to Him who hath made "of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

I do not think my presence would be "pleasurable" to you. I know yours would not be to me so long as you make distinctions between the defenders of their country, which are alike discreditable to your humanity, your patriotism and your Christianity; distinctions which show that you do not know the letter nor comprehend the spirit of the document whose ratification you propose to celebrate; or that knowing and comprehending both letter and spirit you designedly ignore the one and violate the other.

I am, sir, your ob't servant, R. D. Mussey,
Col. 100th U. S. Col. Infantry, Com'd Org'z U. S. C. T.

The Nashville *Times* gives the following account of the celebration of the Fourth by the colored people of that city. We commend it especially to the attention of those who are continually charging Abolitionists with "amalgamation" and "miscegenation":

"The colored citizens had a great jollification on the Fourth at their bran-dance and pic-nic, in the suburbs of the city. A remarkably fine looking regiment was on parade, composed of athletic, well-dressed, well-drilled and decidedly *military* looking soldiers, who no doubt could, on a fair field, take the conceit out of any rebel regiment ever raised in Middle Tennessee in a very short time. The colored laborers in the Commissary Department marched out to the barbacue in a very amusing procession. The once elegant, but now somewhat faded colors of the rebel 'Rock City Guards,' which cost originally the sum of $900, floated gaily at the head of the procession; this was followed by a few platoons of colored soldiers, and these by the emancipated civilians, who used to hew wood and draw water for traitors. These last bore sundry poles, on top of which were small commissary boxes, inscribed with the soul-stirring mottoes of 'Soap!' 'Hard Tack!' 'Candles!' 'Pepper!' 'Molasses!' and other words sweet and spicy in the mouths of colored patriots. The procession cheered lustily on its way, but was otherwise very orderly and respectable. *We noticed among their number many blood relations, such as the sons, nephews, and half brothers of many of the wealthiest and most prominent rebel planters in Middle Tennessee.* It was the most striking example of miscegenation we ever witnessed. We mean no sneer at our colored people in this remark. They cannot help, and are not responsible for the fact that many thousands of their number have the blood of thousands of the first families of Tennessee flowing in their veins. It is their misfortune, not their fault. All we find fault with is, that their *white relatives*, instead of treating them kindly and assisting them, try to oppress and degrade them, and pay blackguard newspapers to vilify the statesmen who seek to elevate their condition.

"The headquarters of Col. Mussey, commanding organization of colored troops, on Cedar street, were tastefully and beautifully decorated and illuminated on the night of the Fourth. The windows were handsomely checkered with red, white, and blue tissue paper, while a large transparency above bore the names, Fort Pillow, Petersburg, Olustee, and Milliken's Bend. The exterior of the building was festooned with flags arranged in the form of shields. The decorations were designed by Mr. Wheeler, and reflected great credit on his taste."

MAKING PROGRESS.

It gives us peculiar pleasure to put on record the following resolutions, which are part of a series lately adopted by the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, in session at Springfield. When we remember the hostility of this body to the anti-slavery movement but a few years ago, we cannot help thanking God and taking courage when we find it uttering such sentiments as these:

Resolved, That we render devout thanks to the Sovereign of nations for the many successes he has given our arms, in repressing the present gigantic rebellion against our national life; that he has moved the President, while defending the government, to issue his proclamation of Emancipation, and to elevate the negroes to the dignity of soldiers of freedom, inspired him with the apparent willingness to follow the leadings of his Providence and to inaugurate such measures as promise the entire overthrow of slavery in the United States.

Resolved, That we regard the present terrible war, which is desolating some portion of our fair inheritance, destroying the lives of many of our noblest young men, as a special judgment of God for our great and manifold sins—especially the sin of negro slavery, our devotion to pecuniary interests and selfish gratification, in violation of the requirement of entire consecration to His glory in the salvation of men.

Resolved, That we feel it to be our first great duty to repent with true godly sorrow both as ministers and members of churches; to confess and forsake our personal and public transgressions; to humble ourselves so low before God that He can consistently roll away this dark cloud of His judgment and restore national peace and prosperity.

Resolved, That we ought to realize the solemnity of living in this historic period of our country; the momentous responsibilities which God by this war and its terrible acts of righteousness is throwing upon us as ministers and churches in liberating and in putting into our hands to educate civilly and religiously thousands, and prospectively millions of slaves, so that their freedom will be a real blessing, both to the slaves and the nation; in opening to our Christian enterprise other rich fields promising abundant harvest; in placing us in the position in which He bids us stem the torrents of immorality and impiety which are rolling in and will for years roll in upon us, as legitimate consequences of the war; and in summoning us, as His elect host, to engage in the conflict of thought and opinion, almost surely following this fearful conflict of arms; that we ought especially to realize our danger of failing to discharge the duties of the times, to which if we prove recreant, civil and ecclesiastical liberty throughout the world will mourn, succeeding generations reproach us, and God hurl upon us still more desolating judgments.

Resolved, That the colored people of our land, both bond and free, by their wisely refraining from all attempts at insurrection and all irregular violence, by their promptness in seizing every opportunity to improve their condition, by their readiness to take up arms, by their aptitude for military discipline, by their undaunted valor in the deadly conflict, and by their humble reliance on the guidance of God, have fairly earned not only the respect and confidence of their countrymen, but a right to all the privileges and immunities of freemen; and that we can neither do justice to them, nor bring the rebellious States back to loyalty, nor expect the free favor of the great Father of us all, until every barrier to their advancement in military and civil life is taken away.

THE FREEDMEN—EDUCATION.

The National Relief Society of the District of Columbia has issued a Circular calling for aid in educating, to some extent, the colored children of Washington, etc. We make the following extracts:

Washington, D. C., June 20, 1864.

To the Friends of the Freedmen:

For two years past we have been laboring as an Association, to afford these emancipated persons such assistance and protection as their new condition has required; but their accumulating numbers, and the entire inadequacy of our means to meet their wants, compel us to call upon the friends of the colored race in the North to come to our assistance and assume a large share of this benevolent work.

It is estimated that there are now in this city and vicinity some 30,000 emancipated persons. This number has been rapidly increasing during the recent movements of General Grant's army in the South, and they are now arriving here, through our lines, at the rate of about 1,000 per week. This immigration will probably continue to some extent till the close of the war. Their first necessity is instruction; primary instruction in common schools. Justice to these poor people requires of us that we should not only furnish them an asylum from their oppressors, but that we should do something to improve their mental and moral condition, and thus in some measure endeavor to repair the wrongs we have aided in inflicting upon them by our complicity in the sin of slavery. We must protect ourselves also, and society at large, from whatever of ignorance and vice they may bring with them from the land of their degradation and suffering.

We call upon the benevolent people of the North to assume this work here at the Capital of the nation. The means for accomplishing it are, for obvious reasons, not to be obtained in this city. This District was but recently slaveholding territory, and this city not long since a mart of trade in human chattels. Emancipation was involuntary on the part of the owners of slaves, and consequently much of the spirit and prejudices of a slaveholding community remain here. The laborers in this good work must come from abroad. If it is done at all, it will probably be, in a great measure, accomplished by those who have long sympathized with the bondman in his condition and have been laboring for his deliverance. To this class of our fellow-citizens, especially, we make this appeal; they will appreciate our endeavors in this call upon their charity, and will, we doubt not, respond cheerfully to the claims of the freedmen upon them.

The object of this Circular is to invite individuals and associations in the several States to establish Schools and Missions here, under their own care and control, and at their own expense, for the instruction and general improvment of the so-called contrabands of this city.

This plan of dividing the work among the several States we think has many advantages. If generally adopted, it will secure abundant pecuniary means, and the right sort of men and women to occupy the entire field. These schools and missions will exert a moral power here, which will afford protection and guardianship to these unwelcome strangers in a great city. Such an enterprise successfully conducted at the Capital, in view of the Representatives of all parts of our country, will give importance to the cause of the freedman's elevation, and excite a more general interest in their improvement everywhere.

We invite, then, such Associations and individuals as have money and labor to bestow upon this work, to unite their means in each State and occupy this field at once. Let there be soon established here the New York, the Pennsylvania, the Ohio, and the Massachusetts Mission Schools, and so on, till the list of States is complete. In many of our districts buildings can be rented, and work furnished to teachers, who can come here and sustain a school; in others, money is required to erect buildings, before anything hopeful and permanent can be done. Those who wish to enter upon this work as teachers, or wish to contribute funds to its aid, will obtain all necessary information by addressing either of the undersigned.

William H. Canning, President.
S. J. W. Tabor, Vice President, Treasury Department.
Geo. E. Baker, Treasurer, State Department.

The Treasurer acknowledges the following donations to the object above stated:

From J. M. McKim, per Philadelphia friends,	$500 00
" Miss Matilda Goddard, Boston,	50 00
" Robert B. Howland, Union Springs, N. Y,	20 00
" William Still, Philadelphia,	50 00

Geo. E. Baker, Treasurer,
Washington, D. C.

Aid and Comfort to the Copperheads.—*The World* eagerly fills two of its columns with a report of Dr. Cheever's speech, delivered at the Church of the Puritans on Monday evening, wherein President Lincoln is misrepresented, caricatured, ridiculed, and held up to reproach as imbecile, unprincipled, etc. This illustrates the way in which Dr. Cheever and a few others are now playing into the hands of the party which hates the negro and is in sympathy with the rebellion. That the President deserves to be rebuked for some things that he has done and others that he has neglected to do, is our earnest conviction, and we think the friends of the slave should not withhold such criticism as may be calculated to convince him of his errors and lead him to do better hereafter; but the criticism which Copperheads "roll as a sweet morsel under their tongues" is unworthy of Abolitionists, or of any one who has the interest of the country at heart.

THE CLEVELAND AND BALTIMORE CONVENTIONS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Dear Sir: In *The Independent* of the 30th ult. I read with much interest a letter from Wendell Phillips, Esq., in reference to his relation to the Cleveland Convention and the editorial comments thereon, which, with your permission, I will make a text for some thoughts upon the general subject discussed. I was so much pleased with the concluding paragraph of the Editor that I will here quote it:

"We know the keynote of Mr. Phillips's complainings. It is dissatisfaction with the Administration. In this feeling he does not stand alone. The Baltimore resolution, painting and gilding the Administration, was unmerited. But we shall not join the Copperheads in a coalition to make bad worse. If a Republican Administration has proved unworthy, a Democratic will prove more unworthy: and we fear the exchange. If the great Union party represented at Baltimore had chosen some other candidate, we would have had no regrets. If, before November, some strange change in events should put another name at the head of this great party we would cheerfully acquiesce. But so long as the case stands as it now stands—the field occupied by one great party whose aim is Liberty and Union, and whose enemies are a motley multitude of every name and opinion, gathered from grog-shops and stained with riots, banding themselves anew to wrong their country, whose ranks are unduly dignified and honored by the presence of a few pure and noble men of whom the rest are unworthy—we shall make straight paths for our feet, and follow with heart and soul after the banner of Abraham Lincoln! We think it Mr. Phillips's duty to do the same. Are we not right?"

It seems to me, now, that Messrs. Phillips, Pillsbury, Goodell, Cheever, and all such as they, have got unwittingly launched in a bad ship, from which they will sooner or later have to escape with their lives—and Mr. Fremont also. Those men all mean, I am confident, the welfare of the slave and the country alike, for I cannot believe that even Mr. Fremont, who is so much opposed, and sometimes abused, by his old friends, has any thought of being a Judas or an Arnold at this fearful crisis of the government, or of defeating Mr. Lincoln and his Administration from the influence of mere personal jealousy and ambition. I much prefer to think that he, with the noble friends associated with him, have simply erred in judgment, and are mistaken in their course, rather than that they are either the knaves or the fools that so many are charging them with being. The present aspects and prospects of their new party are, in all probability, quite different from what they anticipated; and I hope that they will all abandon it if they come to see that it cannot accomplish what they designed—the salvation of the country from misrule, and the abolition of slavery. But if they were not men of purer and nobler purpose and aim, than some of the leading new-fledged anti-slavery men—representatives of the Republican party—who now revile them and say all manner of evil against them, there would be great danger of their being *driven* to an affiliation and co-operation with even Copperheads. But they will not abandon the Republic or Humanity under any provocation. They probably feel very much as the editor of *The Independent* felt when he penned the above extract—only they have more faith and hope that a better President and a better Cabinet than the present incumbents are still possibilities, for the coming four years. This may be short-sightedness, or long-sightedness, but such is probably the fact.

Great fault is found with the Cleveland Convention and its nomination of Fremont; and somewhat justly I think. I see it to be a great mistake—even a folly, perhaps, but not a crime. It was a hasty and precipitate movement, to say the least. But just as much can be said, and ought to be said, against the Baltimore Convention and the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. I believe the *people* did not want either Convention, and especially the more anti-slavery portion of them. When *The Independent* says: "We know the key-note of Mr. Phillips's complainings. It is dissatisfaction with the Administration. In this feeling he does not stand alone"; hundreds of thousands will respond, "true, true." But the voice of the people was disregarded in the holding of the Baltimore Convention in June, and in the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. In great part, I am confident it was the work of wire-pulling demagogues, whose interests are very much identified with Mr. Lincoln. It was said apparently, "The Convention and the nomination *shall* come off now," and so the people submitted because they thought they must. I do not remember to have conversed with a single Republican who was not in favor of waiting till Autumn for the nomination—and a strong Lincoln representative in Congress was one of them. Many who voted to commit their State to Lincoln did so reluctantly. They preferred Fremont or Butler.

The Independent also says truly: "The Baltimore resolution, painting and gilding the Administration, was unmerited." But who did it? The pen that superseded, to the damage of the country, the pen of Horace Greeley? And is it not, by the way, a discouraging sign, to anti-slavery men, at least, when *The Tribune* is cast off by the Administration and *The Times* is chosen as its organ? So it seems to me. And I can but regard it as a sad mistake, that any of our anti-slavery fraternity helped lead to this state of things by doing "the unmerited painting and gilding" beforehand, of which *The Independent* speaks. Too much of this, and too little criticism of the Administration's pro-slavery acts, and especially of Mr. Lincoln's, greatly aided in his premature nomination. If the voice of the people, in *The Evening Post*, in *The Tribune*, in *The Independent*, and many other papers, had been listened to, by the officeholders and their supporters, we should now be waiting patiently for the Time and the Man; and not be all tied up by that foregone conclusion that only Mr. Lincoln, under any circumstances, must be the next President. Perhaps when the Hour should have come, Mr. Lincoln might have proved to be the Man—and that would have been all right. He would have been heartily and devotedly, and unitedly supported then by all true loyalists. Now he is supported by multitudes as only "the least of two evils." I seldom meet an anti-slavery Republican who is enthusiastic for Mr. Lincoln; or who says he is his first choice. Waiting and criticism might have made him their first choice. But no, the leaders said: "We will not wait"; and as the people submitted, we are where we are—many of the noblest and best men of the country strongly opposed to Mr. Lincoln, and will not vote for him, unless he comes up higher and has better advisers than heretofore, but either not vote at all or for some one else. Thus if the Cleveland Convention and its friends are to be condemned and denounced, let not the Baltimore Convention and its leaders escape their share of the same treatment. The latter are just as much to blame as the former that there are to-day two fragments of the Republican, or Union party, and not one undivided and strong party. So, instead of becoming heated and zealous partisans of either, it would seem plain that the duty of Abolitionists is to stand aloof from both, and commend and reprove them as they go for Liberty or Slavery.

Of course, we shall all say with *The Independent* that "We shall not join the Copperheads in a coalition to make bad worse," and if any such coalition should come between Fremont and that slimy species, all our true and tried anti-slavery friends will leave it. But we can afford *to wait*, even if the politicians will not; wait and see whether either party is to be a thoroughly anti-slavery party or not—*practically* as well as professionally. I think that the Lincoln party is so doubtful to-day as to its efficiency in the cause of freedom, if not in saving the government, that we can all heartily respond to *The Independent* when it says: "If, before November, some strange change in events should put another name at the head of this great party, we would cheerfully acquiesce." Unless Mr. Lincoln come up higher, and act more from the dictates of justice and humanity than from "military necessity," than he has hitherto acted, I hope such a name will supersede his. And as it should not have been a foregone conclusion that he only must be nominated, neither should it now be that he must be elected. His election, in this disordered state of things, is by no means certain. Fremont and his party may not be able to defeat him, but he may defeat himself. He and his Administration defeated Gen. Wadsworth and made Horatio Seymour Governor of New York. The people then said—not a few truly loyal people even—The Administration is so timid, so slow, so inefficient, that we can't have one much worse, and we will begin to revolutionize it in our own State, at least. And so may they say in the coming Presidential campaign. Some have got tired of a man who has cut off so many anti-slavery heads, and has manifested so little *earnestness* for liberty and humanity; and others have got tired of so much destruction of life, and of an Administration that has no power to awaken enthusiasm enough in the people to carry on the war without so much talk about conscriptions and compulsions. So, anti-slavery

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

people should still work chiefly upon public sentiment, and bid God-speed to the Man for the Time when he shall come. *Their* man has not come yet; hence they should "labor and wait" for his advent. And if they succeed in creating a public sentiment which *converts* Lincoln and even Seward, and makes them ready and earnest to do the work needed, they will rejoice in that and gladly accept them as standard-bearers; but otherwise they should look for some Benjamin F. Butler or Daniel S. Dickinson to take their places—or for Fremont and Phillips. JUSTICE AND CHARITY.

WHO IS N. C. CLAIBORNE?—Among the orators at the late Fremont and Cochrane ratification meeting in this city, and who was introduced to the audience by Edward Gilbert, Esq., President of the Fremont Club, as a fit speaker for the occasion, was N. C. Claiborne, a Missouri Copperhead of the most malignant type. The St. Louis *Democrat* thus speaks of his character and antecedents:

"Missouri, or rather, the Fremont party of Missouri, had a representative there, and who, think you, he was? No other than N. C. Claiborne, Esq., of St. Louis, whose address precedes that of Cochrane. And who is N. C. Claiborne? By reference to the proceedings of a secession meeting, called by courtesy a Democratic Convention, held at Washington Hall, in this city, a few months ago, we find that N. C. Claiborne was the principal orator on the occasion; and by reference to the proceedings of the State Democratic Convention—the most disloyal ever held in the State—held at Mercantile Library Hall, in this city, on the 15th day of June last, it will be found that Mr. N. C. Claiborne was a prominent and active member. Nor is this all. By referring to the list of delegates chosen to the Chicago Convention by the Mercantile Library Hall Convention, it will be seen that at the head of the list of alternate delegates at large stands the name of N. C. Claiborne. And this man, N. C. Claiborne, the Fremont party of Missouri sends as its representative to speak for it in New York. And such a speech as he made was probable never before heard in that city. One merit it had certainly, that of candor, for Mr. C. asserted that he was a Democrat and an out-and-out Peace Democrat at that."

The St. Louis correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"The Mr. N. C. Claiborne of Missouri who spoke at the Fremont meeting in New York is a notorious Copperhead of this city, whose true place is behind the bars of Fort Lafayette. There is another military prison bird who is foul with treason, who is a reputed Fremont man. He is a delegate to the Chicago Convention. There is another, also a Chicago delegate, who lately wrote a letter denying the power of the government to coerce the seceded States."

Such is the man who was selected by the Fremont Club to present the claims of the Cleveland platform and candidates to the people of New York! Such is the man who finds a eulogist and an endorser in Edward Gilbert, the President of that Club!

NEGRO PIC-NIC IN WASHINGTON.—To those who charge the President with cherishing and indulging the popular antipathy to negroes, we commend the following bitter complaint of the Washington correspondent of the New York *Daily News*, the organ of the Fernando Wood Peace Democracy. Read!

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1864.

Perhaps the most disgraceful sight to human eyes divine took place in this city, and by the sanction of President Lincoln, within the grounds of the Presidential Mansion on the late anniversary of our National Independence. It was no less a matter than a grand picnic of all the negro children of this city to the exclusion of all whites, except they allowed themselves to be mulcted in the sum of one dollar per capita. It was a privilege that has time after time been denied to the white children of our local schools and even by President Lincoln, but when it was proposed to the President to allow black children the privilege, he not only responded affirmatively with alacrity, but promised his presence and patronage to give the affair eclat, and he did so.

Shades of Washington and Jackson! a negro pic-nic on the lawn of the Presidential mansion! What is this nation coming to when the high officials of the nation are paying more attention to a barbaric set of secondary humanity, and these raised almost to the position of demi gods, and inferentially if not actually worshipped? It is a verification that this war is for raising the negro to the equality and social position of the whites, and even to the prejudice of the white people of the land. A government so infatuated, so degenerate, so imbecile can have no hope of success, and would be a contradiction of all law and history, sacred and divine, did such conduct go unpunished or unrequited.

The facts above stated have raised a storm of indignation by thousands who witnessed the disgraceful scene on the 4th instant, and in my peregrinations about town, and at the principal hotels I heard curses loud and long against President Lincoln and his advisers.

RADICAL RATIFICATION MEETING.—The Cleveland platform and candidates were *officially* ratified by a public meeting, held under the auspices of the Fremont Club of this city, at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening, June 27th. To that meeting all the friends of the movement were invited, and, to give the highest official weight to its proceedings, Gen. Cochrane, the candidate for Vice-President, was put forward as one of the speakers. The character of his speech was accurately defined in his declaration that McClellan and Fremont "are twin-cherries on one stem."

A few of the more radical anti slavery supporters of Fremont, who thought the Copperhead features of the Cleveland movement were made a little too prominent in the Cooper Institute meeting, resolved to hold a ratification meeting on their own account. That meeting, gathered under an anonymous call, and without official authority, was held on Monday evening last in the Church of the Puritans, and was addressed by Dr. Cheever in a speech which *The World* eagerly prints as a grist every way suitable for the Copperhead mill. It differed, however, from the Cooper Institute meeting, in that there were no cheers therein for McClellan, and the name of the candidate for Vice-President was carefully excluded from the placards, resolutions and speeches. The reason of this is plain. The Cooper Institute meeting was designed to conciliate the support of the pro-slavery Democrats for the Cleveland candidates, while that at the Church of the Puritans was designed to win the votes of Abolitionists. These two incompatible objects, you see, required two distinct meetings, with distinct classes of speakers! The morality of such proceedings on the part of any ordinary political party would be questionable; but in a party which has for its object the elevation of American politics to the high plane of practical righteousness, we suppose they must be regarded as among "the excentricities of goodness"!

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN LOUISIANA.—The Louisiana Constitutional Convention has not granted negroes their right to vote, but it has adopted a section which places it in the power of the Legislature to take this step whenever it may see fit to do so. The old Constitution, in prescribing the qualifications of voters, reads "every *white* male citizen," etc. The new clause incorporated in the Constitution now being framed reads thus:

"The Legislature shall have power to pass laws extending suffrage to such persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed entitled thereto."

The New Orleans correspondent of *The Evening Post* says:

"This action will be hailed by the North, and indeed by the world, as a great stride in the right direction. The clause is so framed as to omit the use of the word 'negro' or colored, and thus avoids wounding old prejudices. Instead of fixing the qualifications of voters more definitely and permanently in the Constitution, the Convention judiciously left the matter with the Legislature, that it might be arranged as the voice of the people from time to time might indicate. Thus at every popular election the subject comes before them to be arranged and treated as one of the issues to be decided."

PROGRESS.—With great satisfaction we record the fact that the Sixth Avenue Railroad Company have at last abolished the distinction of color in their cars, and hereafter any well-behaved colored person may ride in any car. This road was the first to give colored persons any accommodation at all; in what they deemed necessary concession to public opinion, they put on separate cars, just as certain soi-disant Christians set apart pews for paupers in their fine churches. However mistaken at the outset, the Sixth Avenue Road was certainly up to the age in this matter. While others refused respectable colored persons in any car, and took drunken, filthy, obscene and rowdy white ruffians in all, the Sixth did a little something for human nature in starting its now abandoned sign of "Colored People allowed in these Cars." Times change, and the world progresses; men and women of all nations and all colors are now recognized as railroad patrons, and the washerwoman's five cents counts just as much as the merchant's. There are but two things needed to make railway travel worthy of the age—one is, vigorously to exclude drunken and disorderly persons, white or black; and the other, to put a stop to the outrage of crowding cars that are made for 24 persons with 75 or more.—*Tribune.*

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1864.

THE country is somewhat depressed in reference to the war. Everybody who has mingled with the people is aware of this fact, and will not deny it. There is a feeling of disappointment that Grant has lost so many men, and is still in the trenches before Petersburg and Richmond. The appearance of the enemy in Maryland once more adds to this depression of spirits, and in some quarters there is absolute discouragement. But the nation is like an individual, and to-morrow it will wonder how it could have been disheartened to-day. This season of depression will pass away, and it has its uses. The nation will soon learn (one would think that it might already have learned) that the rebellion is an immense force, which cannot easily be overcome. All the talk about *starving* the rebels to submission, or even of starving them out of Richmond, is worse than idle. We have a set of men, who, like the Chinese, content themselves with talking big things. The most discouraging fact of our condition is the existence of such men. If the people were all like them we should certainly fail, for it would be certain evidence that the race is a cowardly one. It is only cowards who continually boast and brag. When we get through with this nonsense, and the nation looks the rebellion soberly in the face, it will be put down, and not till then. So far the government has managed the war on the makeshift policy. To-day, it is coaxing three month's men from the States, and is issuing the tenth new kind of currency, with compound interest reckoned up for three years on its back. This work looks like little men and a cowardly policy. The rebels hold out so wonderfully because they are bold. They drafted all the men they needed, and at one blow retired one-third of their currency.

The result of the present "depressed term" will be, that the people will go at the work with an energy they have never before possessed—with less enthusiasm, perhaps with a degree of sadness—but fully determined to put the rebellion down. It is my firm belief that this is the darkest hour of our struggle—that henceforth it will look brighter and brighter.

I hear that a movement is on foot to "encourage" Mr. Blair to leave the Cabinet. The President sees the difficulties of his position. He has permitted Mr. Chase to go out and Blair remains in. The suggestions of the National Convention have not only been ignored, but he has done the very opposite thing from that which the Convention recommended. He not only declines to remove Mr. Blair, but he has got rid of Mr. Chase! To satisfy the Radical Republicans he must get rid of Blair also. I presume that Mr. Lincoln's plan was to make an entire change in his Cabinet next March, but now that Chase is out, the public, if Blair is left in, will not believe that there is a serious intention to let Mr. Blair retire to private life next Spring. If there is no improvement in the military situation before November, Mr. Lincoln will need every Republican vote in the country to secure his reëlection, and with Mr. Blair in the Cabinet he will not get them all. Therefore, if it comes to a close contest, it need surprise no one if Mr. Blair should retire from office. His letter to Mr. Garrison is much discussed here. I have no doubt it is honest. He cares nothing for the negro—everything for the white man. Free the negro—make him fight—and then kick him out of the country—is his policy. Give me rather the doctrine of the rebels. Better for the slaves that Jeff. Davis should triumph rather than Blair. There is much, however, to be said in defence of the President. He does not intend, I believe, that Blair's views shall be the guide of the Administration. For Montgomery Blair he has a very high regard, personally, but he understands the feeling among Republicans in reference to his views.

Now that Congress has adjourned, it is a comfort to know that Garrett Davis cannot make any more (for the present) of his interminable speeches in the Senate. One of his last was a long argument against the negro race. He undertakes in six columns of *The Globe* to prove that the black race cannot become civilized. Three columns draw up an indictment against Massachusetts, and it is the same old indictment that he has been preparing for the last two or three years. The treatment bestowed upon the negro by Massachusetts a century ago is a favorite theme with him.

Here is a specimen of his speech:

"Massachusetts now has about thirty thousand more female than male population, I believe, according to the census. I have been at her manufacturing towns; I have been at Lowell, and I have seen at noonday seven thousand well-dressed, intelligent young girls turn out from their employment for refreshment. I have looked with silent but deep interest upon the spectacle. I examined in vain for one of the negro race in the whole throng. I have been into their other manufacturing establishments in Lowell and Boston where the white male population are employed. There are very many workingmen and manufacturers in Massachusetts whose intelligence and virtues and every manly characteristic prove them to be of the noblest people. I have been into their workshops. I have been on their Exchange, as it was termed, in Boston, where they meet for the purpose of comparing the prices or the demands of the market, and to talk over all that concerns their vocations and business. I have looked with interest and national pride on such a spectacle, and conversed with many of these intelligent manufacturers and workmen, receiving instruction and profit. But, sir, I looked in vain for a solitary negro among them. I found no negro partnership, no negro community and equality with them. There is a considerable number of free negroes, male and female, in Massachusetts, and has been since 1780. If her present professed interest and brotherhood and sisterhood for them, her recognition of their intellectual, moral, political, and social equality had been true and real, she has had ample time to put this theory into practice and to exhibit to the world all the beauties and ennobling results of the completest comminglement of the races. But we see nothing of it. It is but a false, delusive, and sinister theory. If the Senator from Massachusetts and his pharisaic Governor had made an irruption into the Lowell manufactories with a thousand or two of young negresses from South Carolina and Virginia, and had placed them at looms side by side with the fair daughters of New England, the latter would have fled as from a pestilence. If such an experiment had been made with the white male laboring population the negroes would have been thrown overboard as the tea was in Boston harbor."

Garrett Davis is crazy upon this one subject, and perhaps upon all, for no one ever heard him open his head upon any other, I suppose. AVON.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.—Mr. A. Morton, the eminent manufacturer of gold pens, has at length been compelled by the continual advance in nominal values caused by the inflation of our currency, to advance the prices of his goods. He has stood out through many months, incurring heavy losses in hope that the end of the war would speedily enable him to boast that he had sold his pens throughout at peace prices; but he gives notice to-day that he can stand out no longer, and must henceforth charge enough for his goods to cover their cost.

This is termed an advance in prices, but not quite accurately. Every farmer can buy one, a dozen, or a hundred of Morton's pens for less produce, every manufacturer for less cloth, every workman for less labor than in 1860. It is simply a readjustment of nominal to actual values. We hope to hear that his trade is unaffected by it; for we hold it no man's true interest to buy any more than to sell goods for less than their honest cost.—*Tribune.*

COPPERHEAD NEWS.—It is the constant practice of the Copperhead press to malign every army officer who is in favor of employing negro troops, and who, when he has such troops under his command, protects them against the insult and abuse to which they are too frequently exposed. Thus the Cincinnati *Times*, a rebel sheet in all but the name, publishes the report that Gen. Hunter, when he lately retreated down the valley of the Kanawha, "filled the ambulances with negroes, to the neglect of the wounded white soldiers," and actually "cowhided a man personally for ordering a negro to get off a horse to give place to a wounded soldier." Any one who knows Gen. Hunter needs not to be assured that these stories are either lies, manufactured out of whole cloth, or exaggerations of facts which, if rightly presented, would reflect credit upon his justice and impartiality.

TILTON'S GUITARS AND VIOLINS.—Mr. William B. Tilton, a musical and inventive Yankee from New Hampshire, has made improvements in the construction of the guitar and violin which add greatly to the sweetness and power of their tones. The value of these improvements is certified to by some of the most celebrated performers in this city, among whom we may mention H. B. Dodworth, George F. Bristow, James Ballard and N. W. Gould. Any one acquainted with these instruments, or either of them, can soon satisfy himself by calling at Mr. Tilton's rooms, 675 Broadway.

THE REBEL RAID IN MARYLAND, which has been the source of so much excitement and not a little anxiety for a week past, is apparently at an end. It is doubtful if it had any other purpose than to procure supplies for the rebel army and to create a panic at the North which should in some way disturb the operations of Grant before Richmond. The latest news is, that, after committing many depredations upon property, interrupting communications between Washington and the North for several days, and filling the Northern people with apprehension and alarm, the rebel force has retreated across the Potomac with its plunder, and Washington is once more safe! We must refer our readers to other sources for details.

THE STATUTE-BOOK CLEANSED.—We publish this week an article from *The National Intelligencer*, exhibiting the successful efforts of Mr. Senator Sumner to remove from the statute-book of the United States those provisions of law which were placed there in the interest and on the behalf of Slavery. *The Intelligencer* does no more than simple justice to Mr. Sumner in claiming that the recent action of Congress, and especially of the Senate, in the matters referred to, is largely due to Mr. Sumner's persistent zeal and indomitable courage. The friends of freedom owe him a debt of gratitude for his efforts in this direction which they will not fail to acknowledge. Surely every American citizen worthy of the name will be proud of the fact that there is not now on the statute-book of the United States a single provision that lends any countenance or support to slavery! And yet there are those who tell us that the Administration under which all this has been achieved is more infamous than that of Buchanan or Pierce, and therefore worthy only of indiscriminate and unqualified reprobation. The Administration has many and grievous faults, which ought to be corrected, and for which it deserves to be sharply rebuked. We have no desire to screen it from deserved censure, but we insist that it should also have credit for all its good deeds. Criticism, offered in good faith and in a right spirit, for the purpose of stimulating the government to right action, and leading it to a higher plane of moral principle, is one thing; indiscriminate and reckless censure and denunciation another and a very different thing.

DEATH OF A VENERABLE PATRIOT.—Jesse Stedman of Springfield, Vt., a noble and true-hearted Abolitionist, died suddenly on the 4th inst., at the ripe age of 83 years. The circumstances of his death are thus related by a correspondent of *The Liberator*:

"The citizens of Springfield and vicinity held a picnic to day (July 4), in a beautiful grove a short distance from the village, for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. Several gentlemen delivered addresses, after which the dinner was discussed. After dinner the audience was called to order, and some excellent and appropriate sentiments were read by Mr. Stedman, eliciting frequent applause from a large and attentive audience. He finished, and sat down amid the cheers of the crowd. Another gentleman had just commenced speaking, when our venerable friend was seen to sink back upon his seat. He gasped but once; and, although able physicians were attending upon him, almost instantly the vital spark had fled. His spirit had taken its flight to its dwelling in the city celestial whose builder and maker is God. A bier was immediately procured, and, covered with the flag he loved so well, he was borne to his house in the village—the whole audience of several hundred persons accompanying the body. A great respect is felt for his memory; and the general feeling is, that the community has suffered a great loss."

HURN'S PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY.—We invite the attention of our readers in Philadelphia, and of those who have occasion to visit that city for purposes of business or pleasure, to the advertisement in another column of J. W. Hurn, Photographer, 1319 Chestnut street. Mr. Hurn is one of the most skilful as well as obliging photographic artists within the circle of our acquaintance, and his standing in the profession is deservedly high. We have seen a number of the pictures which he advertises, and can testify that they are in every respect admirable. Those who wish to procure pictures of themselves or friends, or to obtain those advertised, will do well to give Mr. Hurn a call.

BARNUM'S MUSEUM is as full of attractions as ever, and thronged every day and evening with sight seers. It has been greatly improved lately in the matter of ventilation, so that visitors, even in this hot weather, are not stifled with foul air. Mr. Barnum deserves the thanks of the public for his attention to their comfort in this particular. Among the newer objects of curiosity are a marvelous Living African Mudfish, and four splendid Seals. Of the giants, dwarfs, albinos, serpents, etc., we need not speak. The performances in the lecture room, morning, afternoon and evening, are always entertaining, especially to young people.

NATIONAL FAST.—The President, in accordance with the joint resolution of Congress, has issued a proclamation appointing the first Thursday of August next as a day of humiliation and prayer for the people of the United States, recommending them to confess and repent of their manifold sins, and implore the compassion and forgiveness of the Almighty; and to pray, that if consistent with His will, the existing rebellion may be speedily suppressed, and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States be established throughout the States; that the rebels may lay down their arms, and speedily return to their allegiance; that they may not be utterly destroyed; that the effusion of blood may be stayed, and that amity and fraternity may be restored, and peace established throughout our borders.

MASSACRE OF FORT PILLOW.—We have received from the Hon. Charles Sumner a volume containing the Reports of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, relating to the Fort Pillow Massacre and the Condition of Returned Union Prisoners. Both of these Reports are important, as furnishing positive evidence of the malignity and barbarity of the enemy. In the case of the capture of Fort Pillow, the evidence sustains the charge of murder, as in that on Returned Prisoners it sustains the charge of cruel treatment, extending to the verge of starvation. The photographic pictures at the end, of the condition of some of the exchanged prisoners, are palpable proofs of rebel brutality. The general circulation of the volume would tend to awaken a little of that righteous wrath against the inhuman and infamous cruelties of the enemy, which has strangely slept in the minds of the great majority of the Northern people.

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT.—Thomas M. Johnston's crayon portrait of Mr. Garrison is now finished, and is on exhibtion at the store of Williams and Everett. The family of Mr. Garrison and many of his most intimate friends have given the picture their hearty approval, and pronounce it the best likeness of him ever taken by any artist. In this opinion it is believed all who see it will readily concur. It will be transferred to stone as soon as practicable. All who desire early impressions should at once forwarded their names to the publisher. For terms and other particulars, see the advertisement in another column. C. H. BRAINARD.

Boston, July 5, 1864.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AT ITS THIRD DECADE [thirty years from its formation], held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863, with an appendix, and a Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to 1863. An octavo pamphlet, of 175 pages. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery offices, 48 Beekman st., New York; 106 North Tenth st., Philadelphia; and 221 Washington st., Boston. Price, *Fifty Cents.* On receipt of this sum, a copy will be sent, postage prepaid, to any given address.

A CARD.—Owing to the enormous advance in the prices not only of the precious metals, but of every other commodity, I find it impossible to continue longer the sale of my PENS at old rates. This I regret exceedingly, as I had hoped to continue without change; but, having to buy gold at the present fabulous prices, this is no longer possible.

My friends and the public will give me credit, however, for having struggled long and hard against the universal pressure to depreciate the Government credit and currency. The advance now made is not enough to cover me, with gold at present rates; should it remain where it is, or go still higher, a further rise in prices must be made. In any case, however, I intend, as heretofore, to sell a better article for less money than can be bought elsewhere.

A circular, with engravings of all the sizes, styles, and present prices will be sent on receipt of letter postage. Address A. MORTON,

July 11, 1864. No. 25 Maiden-lane, New York.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REBEL STATES.

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, July 9, 1864.

Whereas, at the late session, Congress passed a bill to guarantee to certain States whose governments have been usurped or overthrown a Republican form of government, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

And whereas, the said bill was presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment of said session, and was not signed by him;

And whereas, the said bill contains, among other things, a plan for restoring the States in rebellion to their proper practical relation in the Union, which plan expressed the sense of Congress upon that subject, and which plan it is now thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration;

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare and make known that while I am, as I was in December last, when by proclamation I propounded a plan for restoration, unprepared, by a formal approval of this bill, to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration, and, while I am also unprepared to declare that the free State Constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort, or to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in the States, but am at the same time sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted, nevertheless I am fully satisfied with the system for reconstruction contained in the bill as a very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it, and that I am, and at all times shall be, prepared to give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as the military resistance to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people thereof shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States, in which case military governors will be appointed, with directions to proceed according to the bill.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President—WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SYNOPSIS OF THE BILL PASSED BY CONGRESS.

The bill passed by Congress guaranteeing a republican form of government to States in insurrection, and alluded to by the President in his proclamation, authorizes the President to appoint for each State in the rebellion a Provisional Governor, who shall be charged with the civil administration of such States. It provides that so soon as the military resistance to the United States, shall have been suppressed in any such State, and the people shall have sufficiently returned to their obedience to the Constitution and laws, the Governor shall direct all white male citizens to be enrolled and to take the oath of allegiance. If a majority of those enrolled consent to take the oath, the people shall be called upon to elect delegates to a Convention for the reëstablishment of a permanent State government. The Convention shall consist of as many members as both houses of the last constitutional Legislature, to be apportioned by the Governor among the several districts, counties or parishes, the delegates to take the oath prescribed by the act of July 2, 1862. The elections are to be held by commissioners in the manner used before the rebellion; and every person known to have held any office, civil or military, State or Confederate, under the rebel usurpation, or to have voluntarily borne arms against the United States, shall be excluded from voting, though he offer to take the oath. The Governor shall convene the delegates at the Capitol, or, if in his judgment that place should be unfit, at any other point, within three months after the election, and shall preside over the Convention so called. The Convention shall declare, on the behalf of the people of their State, their submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and shall adopt the following provisions:

First—No person who has held or exercised any office, civil or military, except offices merely ministerial and military offices below the grade of colonel, State or Confederate, under the usurping power, shall vote for or be a member of the Legislature or Governor.

Second—Involuntary servitude is forever prohibited, and the freedom of all persons is guaranteed in said States.

Third—No debt, State or Confederate, created by or under the sanction of the usurping power, shall be recognized or paid by the State.

After which it shall proceed to reëstablish a republican form of government, and ordain a Constitution containing these provisions, which shall be submitted to the people of the State entitled to vote under this law. If a majority of such approve it, the Governor shall send a certified copy to the President, who, after obtaining the assent of Congress, shall by proclamation recognize the government so established as the constitutional government of the State; after which an election for Senators, Representatives, and electors for President and Vice-President may be held in accordance with the laws of the State and the United States. Should the Convention refuse to reëstablish the State government on these conditions, the Governor shall declare it dissolved; but it shall be the duty of the President, when he may think proper, to order another election of delegates to a similar Convention. Until the United States shall have recognized a republican form of State government, the Provisional Government shall see this act, and the laws of the State in existence before the rebellion, except those relating to involuntary servitude, are faithfully executed, the President appointing all officers provided for by the laws of the State before the rebellion, who shall receive the pay and emoluments provided for such officers by those laws. The Provisional Governor, under such regulations as he may prescribe, shall cause the State taxes to be assessed and collected at the same rates as at the time of the overthrow of the State government, said taxes to be applied to the expenses of the new provincial government, and the surplus, if any, after such expenses are paid, deposited in the United States Treasury to the credit of the State, to be refunded when its republican form of government shall have been recognized. All persons held to involuntary servitude are emancipated, and if any person shall be restrained of their liberty upon pretence of claim to such service, the United States courts shall on habeas corpus discharge them, the party causing the restraint to be punished by a fine of not less than fifteen hundred dollars and imprisonment for not less than five nor more than twenty years. Every person who shall hereafter hold or exercise any office, civil or military, except offices merely ministerial and military offices below the grade of colonel in the rebel service, State or Confederate, is declared not to be a citizen of the United States.

THURLOW WEED.—*The Herald* states that this wily political manager, who contributed his influence to the election of Seymour as Governor of New York in 1862, is now intriguing to procure the nomination and election to the Presidency of Dean Richmond, Copperhead. He is confident, so it is said, that if the Chicago Convention will nominate Richmond, he (Weed) can carry over to him a sufficient number of Conservative Republican votes to secure his election.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

ORDERLY SERGEANT ELI BUGG.

A Chaplain of one of the colored regiments at Port Hudson, La., writes to *The Christian Inquirer* under date May 28.

"The schoolhouse mentioned in a previous letter was lost to us at moving; but behold the structure on the little promontory in the rear of my tent. It consists of six heavy posts set two and a half feet into the ground, with eight feet above; then, four plates and a cross beam, each twenty-one feet in length, laid on the posts and firmly pinned. There are poles laid on top, on which is a thick covering of bushes. It is furnished with the desks and seats of the former building, a carpenter's bench for a table, and a blackboard twelve feet by three. It is a favorite resort of the men at other hours than those allotted to school. 'The coolest place in Port Hudson,' I overhear. I claim for it the merit of being the cheapest edifice for public education ever erected. Lest any should gainsay this, it should be stated that the posts and timbers were obtained from a deserted camp. Last Sunday, a meeting was held in the afternoon, sustained by Sergeant Gilbert, and in the evening the usual service.

"Orderly Sergeant Eli Bugg should be mentioned in connection with the schoolhouse; he superintended its erection. I had opportunity to see the ready and accurate carpenter's eye in his head, and the skilful hand. I have never seen a colored man whom I have found so much difficulty in picturing to myself as a slave, as Sergeant Bugg. There seems to be an utter incongruity between the man and the relation. In any well-constituted Northern town, he would be a man on whom the community would much rely. He has a good mind, excellent judgment in practical matters, and bears a well-established character. At Baton Rouge, the colored people have formed a very important part of the population, especially the free negroes. They had an organized church of their own, Methodist. They raised money to remunerate the minister, who devoted part of his labors to them. The church ordinances were administered, and the functions of a religious society performed. In all these matters, Eli Bugg was evidently a counsellor and an actor.

"He was born in the hither corner of Mississippi, in Franklin County, thirty-five miles from Natchez. When he was about seven years old, his owner moved to Baton Rouge, and was a broker there. This city was thereafter Eli's home. He learned the carpenter's trade and hired his time. He paid his master twenty-six dollars a month for his time, receiving board in his family. He made, over his wages, from five to fourteen dollars a month. He worked with one man ten years, and it is pleasant to hear of the kindly relations between the two. Eli was treated in all respects, like the freemen employed in the shop. On the other hand, the meanness of slavery is apparent in the dealings of the owner. Besides receiving the twenty-six dollars a month, he managed to make his *property* self-clothing. This he effected by the very simple process of withholding supplies. He was already worth four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and these tactics helped to swell the sum. Eli says his little boy, who is now fifteen years old, never received but two pairs of shoes from his *owner*.

"Mr. McVay, Eli's employer, built most of the public buildings in Baton Rouge. The State House, now a ruin, was an elegant structure. Eli worked on the sashes and skylight, and on the new desks. This shows that he was reckoned as a first-class workman. Indeed, I believe that if he, instead of the rich old broker, had been the owner of his person, he would be worth to-day between six and eight thousand dollars. In making this calculation, his wife represents three thousand dollars. She is a wise and prudent woman. She would increase by care and counsel, rather than scatter, her husband's gains. She is also a woman of native refinement of feeling, as both her appearance and her letters indicate. Thank God for the upheaving of society, even though war be its dreadful accompaniment, which releases such people from the bonds of slavery!

"Last Wednesday evening, a meeting intended to keep alive the martial spirit was held in the schoolhouse. It was designed and managed by Sergeant Green, of whom I wrote you a few weeks since. Eli Bugg was one of the speakers. Having seen him before only in his quiet moods, I was surprised at the spirit he showed. He moved his hearers not only by appeals, but also by the force of good arguments. Living as he has, under the system of slavery, and yet in some respects above it, he has evidently watched and meditated on its workings. He had decided that the only road to deliverance lay through war. The colored people had expressed freely and often their desire for freedom, but their actions had tended directly to the opposite result. He compared their course to that of the little boy who passed down the river. The people of Memphis hailed him and asked where he was going? 'To Louisville, Kentucky.' Again at Vicksburg and at Baton Rouge, and he gave at each place the same reply, 'Louisville, Kentucky.' It was only when he discovered the fact that, though he named correctly and frequently the place he purposed to reach, he had taken the wrong direction to arrive at it. So the colored people had talked right before, they have now only begun to act right, when they are in arms to destroy slavery."

A CHAPTER ON THE BLACK TROOPS—FERRERO'S DIVISION, NINTH CORPS.

Special Correspondence of The Philadelphia Press.

CAMP OF 9TH ARMY CORPS, near PETERSBURG, Va., 27th June, 1864.

At a time when there is a decided revulsion of public feeling in favoring the employment of negroes as soldiers, it may be well to add to the good effect produced by the late achievements of Gen. Hinks's division of freedmen in the entrenchments of Petersburg. To this end the history of Gen. Edw. Ferrero's division of black and yellow men shall be cited. There can be no other object in thus singling out a particular command, except to add another stone to the great cairn of evidence which is accumulating as one of the historical landmarks of the United States in the nineteenth century. A superstition as unworthy, unfounded and cruel as that which we read of in the accounts of Salem witch-burnings two hundred years ago, infects probably the majority of Americans of this generation. Certain physiological peculiarities, in a variety of our species, are held to denote all that is mean, vile, and loathsome. The negro, in this freest of lands, is supposed—assumed—to be stupid, cowardly, servile, brutal, ferocious, treacherous, cunning, and ungrateful. No heed is taken of instances cited to the contrary. These are triumphantly, though inconsistently, admitted, and are immediately adduced as "rare exceptions that best prove the rule." Ask wherefore black pigment should denote moral turpitude, or how, from kinky hair, brutishness may be deduced, and you are met with a cool, dogmatic reutterance of these contingent characteristics—mental or moral, and physical. You are out of the shallow depths of the Man of Prejudice. He never ventured to essay his skill in dialectics; for the same reason that the too-cautious schoolmaster prohibited his pupils from taking swimming lessons—the danger of being lost! But the negrophobish and the misguided pupil are both liable ultimately to come to grief, by reason of the ignorance and unskilfulness in which they remain. The currents of history flow with, not against the tide of time. The negro-hater may shift his ground from rock to shallow, from shallow to quicksand. Ultimately he must be engulphed, and go down to eternity as the fool whom facts would not convince nor reason govern.

Brig. Gen. Edw. Ferrero now commands, as part of Gen. Burnside's 9th Army Corps, a division of negro troops, thus constituted:

1st Brigade, commanded by Col. Siegfried (detached from the command of the 48th Pennsylvania Volunteers), has the following regiments of United States colored troops: 30th, Col. Bates; 39th, Col. Sterns; 27th, Lieut. Col. Wright; 43d, Lieut. Col. Hall.

2d Brigade, commanded by Col. Thomas (ranking in the regular army as captain in the 11th United States Infantry), has the 19th, Lieut. Col. Joseph Perkins; 31st, Lieut. Col. W. A. W. Ross; 29th, Lieut. Col. John A. Bross; 23d, Lieut. Col. Campbell.

These troops were variously recruited, from among freedmen, slaves, and free born, in Maryland, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Connecticut, and New York States. They include every variation in shade of color, from pure African to quasi-Caucasian. They have filled, perhaps, every position in civil life which their caste has yet attained. They are in every respect a representative body for the Americo-African people. Let us examine their record—not a startling nor extraordinary one—such a record as, if judged by that, irrespective of prejudice against race and color, must prove them certainly men and soldiers, it may be, also, patriots and heroes.

From the Rapidan river to Petersburg these negro regiments were invariably selected to bring up the rear of the Army of the Potomac, because of their known disinclination for straggling. They have held at bay the advance guard of the enemy at Germania Ford, North Anna river, Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania, Old Church, and Cold Harbor. In support of the other troops of the 9th Army Corps, they defeated the rebel cavalry brigade of Ross, west of Chancellorsville. Again at Old Church, near the Pamunkey, they drove away the Confederate troopers after the 18th Pennsylvania Cavalry had been made to yield ground. They supported their corps in the advance upon Petersburg. As marching men they cannot be excelled. After carrying their arms and accoutrements over fifteen miles of choking dust, they have gone singing into camp; and some of these men have, even afterward, amused themselves of evenings by running foot-races in the woods. Universally, they are healthy, cheerful, and obedient. Their discipline is excellent; their respect for, and confidence in, their officers, almost unparalleled. Under fire they do not flinch. Thrown into the front, lately, not more than forty men fell out or straggled from the whole division of eight regiments. For fatigue works—filling sand-bags, digging pits, building breastworks, etc.,—they are positively unexcelled. No laziness nor shirking is complained of among these sable, brown and yellow men. In this catalogue of excellencies nothing has been over stated. There are in the official record of the 9th Army Corps ample evidences to sustain these allegations. Should their enemies, if they have such, unable to refute these irrefragable proofs of soldiership and manhood, still deny to these dark-hued troops their fair meed of praise, they can have nothing to advance in the way of evidence of negro inferiority to whites as soldiers. Villifiers can but open and close their case by the disgraceful utterance of two syllables of contempt. Contracting their nostrils, they will simply shout, or sneer, or whisper, "NIG-GER!"

It must be told of the negro troops in Burnside's Army Corps that their division commander is one of the oldest and most experienced officers in the army. Brig-Gen. Edward Ferrero entered the volunteer service of his country from New York city, as Colonel of the 51st New York State Volunteers. He was with Gen. Burnside in the glorious "coast campaign," that resulted in the taking of Roanoke Island, Newbern, Hatteras, etc. Later, he served at the seige of Vicksburg, and, subsequently, held Fort Saunders against the forces of Longstreet, during the investment of Knoxville, after the disastrous battle of Chickamauga. He now commands a brigade of negroes, mulattoes, and quadroons, and is quite satisfied with such material for his division. Approval from a veteran and experienced officer like Gen. Ferrero is what any troops may be proud of. Depreciation and calumny from traitors, knaves, and simpletons—the creatures of self-interest, truckling, and prejudice—cannot tarnish the honest lustre of their escutcheon.

HON. WILLIAM WHITING, of Roxbury, the Solicitor of the War Department, has been elected President of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and has accepted the office. Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, M. C., of Groton, has been elected one of the Trustees.

Summary.

HANDSOME HAUGHTY-CULTURIST!—The belle of Chautauqua County, too proud to be in want for a husbandman, has undertaken to be a farmer herself! It is well known for an energetic family. One of her brothers is in the army; the second has been in the service, but returned home a cripple; and the father is also disabled. Unable to hire help on the farm, the young woman went into the field. She is not slow, having covered one thousand and fifty hills of corn in five hours some three weeks ago. She was "dragging in oats" when last heard from.—*Home Journal.*

SACRED SURGICAL WRATH.—Prof. McDowell, who professes surgery in the College of Missouri, is writing some very ferocious letters to Rev. H. W. Beecher. He says he knew him many years ago, when he was an "impudent boy," and that if he does not pause in his career of wickedness, the knife which hitherto has "never been turned on the human family but in kindness and mercy, shall be keenly whet in justice and vengeance." We hope Mr. Beecher will "pause," for we should be very sorry to have a good scalpel spoiled. Prof. McDowell adds that Rob Roy was his cousin. We would congratulate one of them on the relationship, if we could decide which.—*Times.*

Hon. Schuyler Colfax has been unanimously renominated by the Union men of his district in Indiana. This will be the seventh time he has been a candidate. His constituents have good warrant for this marked and steadfast confidence in him. Few men in the public service have achieved higher success, or more thoroughly earned distinction and public confidence than he. "He has," says the *Times*, "brilliant talents, a quick, keen, and just judgment, fixed fidelity of principle and of purpose, and untiring industry in the performance of public duties. As Speaker, he has won universal approbation, and increased his already general and decided popularity."

NEW ARCTIC EXPEDITION.—Captain Hall, of Arctic fame, and two Esquimaux, sailed from New London a few days since, on a new exploring expedition in the northern regions. A thoroughly-fitted whale-boat is the only vessel Capt. Hall takes, and his supplies consist of clothing and pemmican for himself, necessary instruments and books, and an assortment of goods to trade with the Esquimaux for food, and to pay those whom he will engage to serve him. Captain Hall has already acquired the Esquimaux language, is familiar with their habits, is known favorably to the people of a large region, and will remain with them from two to three years. He will travel with them in their annual migrations, and will spread everywhere the knowledge of his purpose to learn new particulars concerning the fate of Sir John Franklin, and any other matters of interest in the almost unexplored regions of the North.—*Boston Transcript.*

FRAMINGHAM NORMAL SCHOOL.—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Normal Schools in this State was celebrated in Framingham on Saturday, the day following the examination exercises of the State Normal School there. Rev. Samuel J. May of Syracuse, N. Y., a former Principal of the school, gave an oration, and was followed by Rev. Eben S. Stearns of Albany, another former teacher, who gave a valuable historical sketch of the Normal Schools. At the collation Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., presided. The exercises were participated in by Mrs. Geo. N. Walton of Lawrence, Rev. Chas. Brooks, Geo. B. Emerson, Mrs. Hopkins of New Bedford, Mrs. Howinson of Salem, Miss Annie C. Brackett, Principal of a Normal School in St. Louis, ex-Gov. Washburn, Prof. Zachos, D. N. Camp, Superintendent of Public Schools in Connecticut, and Mr. White, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. It was a very interesting celebration.—*Mass. Spy.*

CARPENTER is getting on finely with his great painting of the "Emancipation Proclamation," and it is rapidly approaching completion. It has been a matter of deep thought with the artist to determine precisely what to admit and what to exclude, in order to work the scene up to nature. This has been fully and well accomplished. The public are already familiar with the general features of the picture. A very important addition has been made by placing prominently in the foreground a newspaper, carelessly thrown aside, a representation of the press, as the great power laying at the foundation and in advance of all other human agencies in working the nation up to emancipation. On the bookcase, at the radical side of the Cabinet, is the portrait of Hon. Simon Cameron, who had just vacated the position of Secretary of War. Most of the distinguished people who visit Washington call at the White House to view the picture, and all who see it say that it promises to be a great national work of art. The artist is overwhelmed with applications to publish the picture. When Mr. Carpenter last visited New York he informed us that the painting would probably be exhibited in the principal cities of the Union, prior to its being engraved. The work will certainly result in giving the artist a world-wide fame, as well as a large fortune.—*Home Journal.*

PRESENTATION TO THE PRESIDENT.—The colored people of Baltimore, desirous of testifying their appreciation of the distinguished services of President Lincoln in the cause of human freedom, are about to present him with a copy of the Holy Bible, which is a masterpiece of art and taste. It is the imperial quarto of the American Bible Society, bound in purple velvet, with heavy gold mountings, appropriately engraved, and enclosed in a walnut case lined with white silk. The total cost of this elegant gift is $580 75. The inscription upon the presentation plate is as follows:

To
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States,
The Friend of Universal Freedom,
From
The Loyal Colored People of Baltimore,
As a Token of Respect and Gratitude.
Baltimore, 4th July, 1864.

Intrinsically valuable as this gift may be, it is of little account in comparison with the sentiment it represents or embodies. It will be properly appreciated by the great champion of Emancipation; it will take its appropriate place in the history of his efforts toward the accomplishment of that grand consummation in which Maryland has taken a leading part. It will form one of the best and proudest memorials it has ever fallen to the lot of any public man to transmit to posterity. This expression of the "respect and gratitude" of our colored citizens is highly creditable to them, and we are glad to chronicle so noteworthy an occurrence.—*Balt. American.*

Advertisements.

PHOTOGRAPHS.—Fine Photographs of William Lloyd Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Theodore Tilton, Gov. Curtin, James and Lucretia Mott, John Hutchinson, Asa Hutchinson and family, Frederick Douglass, and others, from card size upwards, have recently been published by J. W. HURN, 1319 Chesnut st., Philadelphia, where duplicates of all can be obtained.

NEW MUSIC.—"NO SLAVE BENEATH THAT STARRY FLAG."

"No slave beneath that starry flag,
The emblem of the free,
No fettered hand shall wield the brand
That smites for liberty."

Song and Chorus, words by Rev. George Lansing Taylor, music by Mrs. Parkhurst.

"Friends of the Union we Greet You To-night," song and chorus as sung by the Tremaine Brothers with great applause.

"Let Me Die with my Face to the Foe," quartette, words and music by J. G. Clark, as sung by the author at all his concerts.

"The Dying Soldier Boy," song and chorus, by W. Virgil Wallace. The above songs are all excellent. Price 30 cents each, or the four for $1, mailed free.

HORACE WATERS, No. 481 Broadway.

EMPIRE SHUTTLE MACHINE.

Patented February 14th, 1860.

SALESROOM, 536 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

This Machine is constructed on an entirely new principle of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY and PERFECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the LOCK or SHUTTLE STITCH, which will NEITHER RIP nor RAVEL, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither CAM nor COG WHEEL, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is

EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

No. 1—Family Machine, with Hemmer complete,	$55
" 2—Small Manufact'g, with Extension Table,	70
" 3—Large " " "	80
" 3—Large, for Leather, with rolling foot, etc.,	90

CABINETS IN EVERY VARIETY.

We want Agents for all towns in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America, where agencies are not already established, to whom a liberal discount will be given, but we make no consignments.

J. T. McARTHUR & CO., 536 Broadway, New York.

WILLIAM B. TILTON'S,

GOLD MEDAL

PATENT GUITARS AND VIOLINS

No. 575 Broadway, Opposite Metropolitan Hotel, N. Y.

These Guitars and Violins have received the highest Prize *whenever* and *wherever* brought into competition with the Instruments of the most noted makers, and have *never* failed to give perfect satisfaction.

The attention of the public and the trade is respectfully invited to the following points of SUPERIORITY OF TILTON'S GUITARS OVER ALL OTHERS:

1. In the *increased* quantity and quality of tone; a richer fullness of the bass, and a greater brilliancy to the treble portion of the scale.

2. The *harmonics* are louder and clearer.

3. The delicate shades of tone used in the *glide* and *vibration*, are produced with more distinctness and less manual effort.

4. From the peculiar nature of its construction, the instrument is strengthened, and the quality of tone rendered more equal. It is also less liable to change from atmospheric causes.

5. In the peculiar method of attaching the Strings (as shown in the engraving) to the bridge, thereby relieving the sounding-board from all undue tension, and removing all impediments to its fullest vibration.

6. In the philosophical basis of the improvement, which has but to be seen by the unprejudiced mind to be appreciated.

We respectfully ask an inspection of "TILTON'S GUITARS," feeling confident the result will be a hearty endorsement of the foregoing claims.

PRICE LIST OF GUITARS.

No. 1. Maple, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	$20 00
No. 2. Fine Rosewood, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	25 00
No. 3. Fine Rosewood, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	30 00
No. 4. Fine Rosewood, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	35 00
No. 5. Fine Rosewood, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	40 00
No. 6. Fine Rosewood, with machine head, oval finger-board, with good case,	45 00
For Improving Guitars,	$12 00
" " Violins,	10 00

Finger-board warranted not to settle.

An increase of *quantity* and *quality* of tone warranted in all Guitars or Violins improved, *or no charge will be made.*

The manufacturing of these Guitars and improving of Violins are under the entire supervision of the Patentee, and made of the best material, warranted to be superior in quantity and quality of tone, as well as of workmanship, and to stand in any climate, or they can be returned and the money promptly refunded.

Express charges on all Instruments sent to be repaired, or improved, *must be pre-paid.*

A LIBERAL DISCOUNT TO THE TRADE.

WM. B. TILTON & CO., 575 Broadway, N. Y.

Miscellaneous Department.

SLAVE LOUISE.

BY MRS. J. A. FIELD.

THE night was chill, and drear, and dark,
And black the sullen waters,
When, fearless, in a tiny boat,
Stepped one of Afric's daughters.
No terrors had the night for her,
Though clouds came on uncheering;
Beyond she saw a dimless light
From Freedom's land appearing.

She fled from shadows darker far
Than those obscuring heaven—
Where wedded hearts and wedded hands
By gain or hate are riven.
Securely cradled on her breast,
Two young immortals slumbered,
While kisses from her pale lips fell,
With blessings all unnumbered.

"Sleep, sleep my babes! to-morrow's sun
Shall see a happy meeting;
Your freedman father and Maumee
Shall give ye welcome greeting.
O Liberty! like airs from heaven,
Your pinions o'er me flutter;
With trembling ecstasy I hear
Each freedom-word you utter.

"Break, break the chains that long have chafed
My body worn and weary—
That make of life one scene of toil,
Unsmiling, hopeless, dreary.
Back to my 'master,' who, with pride,
Boasts of his wealth and letters,
I fling with scorn my heritage
Of ignorance and fetters."

On, on the fragile bark was swept,
For willing hands were rowing;
But crested waves sped faster yet,
And fiercer winds were blowing.
Brave hearts and arms long bore them on—
Alas! 'twas unavailing;
The cheerful song and joyous shout
Despair had changed to wailing.

None saw the foundered boat go down,
None heard them wildly shrieking,
While victor waves in thunder-tones
Their savage wrath were wreaking.
They tossed them as rude autumn's wind
A broken, withered flower;
Till with the morrow rose the sun,
In majesty and power.

Remorseful, then, they softly laid,
With sad and mournful measures,
Upon a desert islet's banks
Their life-destroyed treasures.
Kind stranger-hands beneath the turf,
Where princely pines are crowded,
Placed gently, side by side, their forms,
Uncoffined and unshrouded.

The pine's mysterious music plays
Above the buried sleepers,
And drooping o'er them, incense-filled,
Wild, dewy flowers are weepers.
The solemn shade, the holy calm,
Sheds peace upon the spirit,
And Thought flies upward to the home
Immortals pure inherit.

Poor slave Louise—down-trodden one!
Derided—mocked—untrusted—
The wrongs endured in earthly life
God has himself adjusted.
No more a slave, she treads the shores
Of freedom and of beauty,
Where spirits are enchained alone
By bonds of love and duty.

New Orleans, La. —*Herald of Progress.*

PREACHING FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE.

A SERMON BY REV. J. L. CORNING,

Delivered in the Congregational Church, Poughkeepsie, Sabbath Morning, June 19, 1864.

"And the common people heard him gladly."—*Mark xii: 37.*

WHO were these common people? They were a class as old as the race and as widely distributed over the face of the earth. The most ancient languages have their terms to designate them, and the earliest records of society contain distinct references to them. The epithet "common," which distinguished them was partly natural and partly invidious. It was convenient and proper as indicating the large mass of society, numerically the common, or the prevailing class. But it easily became an epithet by which the pride of caste nourished itself and came to signify a department of society proscribed and in some sense unclean. To us this partition in the social state has no such significance as it had to the people of the olden time. Despotisms are the hot-beds of aristocracies and social exclusions. Thrones are magnets to the rich, but mill-stones to the poor. The rich hang around them like bees in a swarm, the poor are crushed down beneath them and ground to powder.

And yet, under civil governments which are most favorable to popular liberty, the "common people" are more or less a distinct class. There is always, under the best circumstances, a powerful tendency in wealth and intellectual culture to lift themselves in selfish exclusion above the masses of mankind—perverting the implements of beneficent labor into appliances of self-admiration and despotic power.

If Jesus were to-day to associate again with men for purposes of moral instruction, I do not doubt that He would meet with substantially the same reception from the different classes with whom He came into contact that He did in ancient days. The proud and the privileged would give Him the go-by and the plebean throng would hang upon His words. Opulence and the refinements of earthly culture do not essentially differ in the educational influence upon the selfishness of men from what they have been in the ages of the past. Wealth and position create all sorts of artificial wants; and a mental appetite analogous to that which makes Dives hunger for a sumptuous and delicate dietary at dinner, renders him intolerant of truth unless it is served up with disguising sauces upon silver platters. I will point out to you several characteristics of Christ as a preacher which made Him unpopular with the privileged classes and gave him acceptance with the common people.

First: Christ as a preacher appealed to the natural moral instincts of men. He paid no deference to old creeds and attempted the formation of no new one. He made his appeal to and sought his vindication in those faculties of consciousness which were common to humanity and not those which distinguished one class of men from another. I beg of you to reflect upon the testimony of history to the fact that bigotries and dogmatisms of belief have always been the favorite resorts of despots of one sort or another. Every despotism the world over has sheltered itself underneath the patronage of some creed or another; and there never existed on earth a social or civil organization predicating the existence of a low class for the sake of a higher which dare appeal to the inborn moral instincts of men. Christ's doctrines of justice found echo in the universal conscience of mankind, but they found no echo in the aristocracies and oligarchies of His time, nor indeed of any time. The very selfishness of men which had invented these aristocracies had invented theologies to match and sustain them. You may look over the world to-day and you will find that bigotries and morbid creeds do not originate with the common people, but with the privileged in some sort. You may take at random a given number of plain, honest mechanics, and farmers, and housewives, out of the common walks of life and undertake to excite in them an enthusiasm for any special religious belief except that which grows out of the universal consciousness of sin and the universal instinct of justice, and you could not set yourself about a more hopeless task. If you should attempt to make a church out of these people it would construct its cathechism a great deal more out of the common institutes of noble and manly living than out of speculations as to the structure of the Godhead and the origin of evil. And Christ evidenced His keen discernment in selecting as the material for the original church the very commonest of men. And starting with these, it maintained its practical character and its practical relation to the homely duties of life until about the time of Constantine, when religion began to be an implement of the civil power, and from that hour it began to be lumbered up with frigid orthodoxies. The bigotries of theological sects originated with aristocracy, and by aristocracy of some kind, either civil or ecclesiastical, have always been sustained.

Secondly: The sins which Jesus rebuked were those which aristocracy fostered, and the virtues which He inculcated were those which are nurtured in the humbler conditions of life. Christ was regarded by many of His time as the inveterate foe of the rich and the cultivated, and a great many of His utterances to and about this class, in a superficial view, would seem to justify such an interpretation. When, for example, He said, "How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of God," it would look as if he indicated some stern and arbitrary decree by which heaven was to close its doors against wealthy men and open them to men of empty purses. But not so. His warfare was not against riches and culture, but against the pride, the arrogance, the selfishness and the mean little despotisms which these conditions of life fostered in their bosoms. He was no agrarian philosopher, making war upon the inequalities of social condition, which inevitably resulted from the diversities of human capacity. And yet, in the face of the bitterest intolerance of prejudice, He ordained himself the champion of the poor against the oppressions of the rich, the friend of the ignorant in their exclusions by the selfish refinements of men. He enunciated the divine principle that privilege, rank, position, culture, whatever it was, which lifted one class of men above another, were for the sake not of exclusion and self-admiration, but for the sake of beneficence and help toward those who occupied the under strata of life. And this doctrine brought upon Him all the hostility which human pride and selfishness could marshal out, and it likewise secured Him the affectionate regard of the poor and the unbefriended. Moreover, He was the living example of His own doctrine of loving condescension toward the lowly and the uncultured. He showed the aristocracies of His time that if they could not come down from their lofty seats to bear solace and light to the humble, the despised, the ignorant, He could gracefully, aye, with the facility of spontaneous instinct compass the problem. Every step of His career was, in this regard, a rebuke of the pride of privilege, and the insulting patronages and despotisms of power. There never was such a friend to the laboring classes as He. Educated Himself at a carpenter's bench, He vindicated in His own personal history the dignity of honest toil. With what withering scorn do you not think He would if He were among men to-day rebuke that silly, supercilious arrogance which curls its lip in derision of the man whose hard hands labor, and whose noble brow sweats for his honest bread. The Pharisaism of Judea, as well as the shoddy escutcheons of the United States of America, was fertile of this brainless and soulless crime against humanity and common sense, and in whatever form it developed itself it met with merciless treatment at the hands of Jesus.

Thirdly: Christ's loyalty to truth brought down upon Him the hatred of the cultivated and secured Him the respect and attention of the great common mind of His age. Porson somewhere testily observes that "he wishes people would call a spade, a spade, and not a horticultural implement." The familiar and homely talk of Christ passed for vulgarism with the rhetoricians of the sanhedrim. He condescended to the most ordinary affairs. Find, if you can, an instance in all His sermons, in which He failed to call a thing by its right name. A varnished saint in His dialect went by the name of a "hypocrite," and not in the equivocal parlance of pew-idolizing pulpits—a brother in the Lord whose walk and conversation are somewhat inconsistent with his profession. A certain class of selfish men He put down in His natural history as "a generation of vipers." Could it be possible, do you think, that somebody's rhetorical nerves, to say nothing of the nerves of self-esteem, should not have been offended by such plain talk?

Now, whatever are the advantages of intellectual culture and the refinements of life, you will find it to be one of their disadvantages that they educate in men unconsciously a disgust toward the literalities and the individualities of truth. As it has always been a fault of art that it has violated and perverted nature instead of copying her, so it is a chronic distemper of fine rhetorical taste to cover over truth with artificial glosses rather than to set it forth in honest loyalty.

And so you will find, as a general rule, that what is called the "common mind" makes truth the test of worth in a sermon, but the cultivated mind demands the proprieties and elegancies of style whatever be the detriment which truth will experience thereby. You will find no class of people that can be so easily imposed upon by empty adjectives in lieu of sturdy, ringing substantives as those who call themselves cultivated and refined. And you will find no class of people who can so readily see through this blasphemous piece of jugglery as those who represent the average intellect of the world—the great middling class. Hence, I honestly declare to you that I would a great deal rather have an approving verdict of a congregation of farmers and mechanics upon my preaching than the same verdict of a congregation of literati. And I say this with no design to make any invidious comparison in favor of the uncultivated as against the cultivated class of society; but because I know the truth of what I affirm, aye, I have felt it in my own experience, how powerful is the allurement which a cultivated rhetorical taste addresses to the conscience and the common sense of a preacher's soul and brain to sway them from the strict line of truth as God's word and human life have indicated that line. And I have more than once, before the mercy seat, recorded my solemn vow that with the help of Divine power, I will never, at the solicitation of anybody, or any circumstances, succumb to the insidious force of this temptation.

Fourthly: Christ's noble condescension in His methods of instruction attached the great common mind to Him, while it at the same time excited the jealousy of the higher and more cultivated classes.

If Jesus had come with profound philosophies the literati would have hailed Him as hero, and many of the wealthy who mistook money for brains, cash for culture, would have chosen Him as their chaplain. Condescension is a foreign idea to the great folks of the world, and this not less in literature than in anything else. Hugh Latimer was the most popular preacher in London, in the sixteenth century, with the masses, but all the aristocracy turned up their noses at him. John Bunyan had been in his grave a century before a poet or literary critic dare praise his Pilgrim's Progress, though all this time that priests and levites were sneering at its homely sentences, cobblers, and yeomen, and milkmaids, a great multitude, were feasting their forlorn, hungry souls on its pages, and at last, in the nineteenth century, Macaulay has written his testimony that this rugged dream of the Bedford tinker surpasses every other uninspired book for showing the true wealth of the English tongue. And now I want to challenge your consent to the declaration that since the world began, the immortal elements of literature have been those which fitted the common mind of the world, and this is true of literature, both sacred and secular, and this in all departments, whether of poetry or prose. The parables of Jesus are the most imperishable works of art that ever appeared in history, but they seemed as little better than nursery talk to the doctors of the Sanhedrim. They have outlived all literature, notwithstanding the cultivated mind of the age which produced them sneered at their homely similitudes, and predicted as well as hoped for them an evanescent popularity. And this is the secret of their immortality, as well as that of every other sort of religious literature, that they touch human life at every point of contact. There is nothing so lofty that men are familiar with, be it the sky or a mountain range; there is nothing so lowly, be it a lily on the shore of Galilee, or a hen in a barn-yard clucking to her brood, that the preaching of Jesus does not lay an embargo upon for purposes of moral instruction. It is very fashionable to think that a preacher should have one kind of dialect for the parlor and the market place, and another kind for the pulpit—that he should talk in ordinary, comprehensible phrases on the street or at the fireside, but in the sanctuary should talk on stilts, and lumber up his speech and the skulls of his auditors with all sorts of elegant ambiguities. And you know very well what a soporific affair the sermon has become by reason of loyalty to this pernicious maxim, how men are wide awake to the every day talk of life, and how they slumber and dose under the pious platitudes of Sunday. There never was a popular sermon preached which was not marked by a noble condescension of thought, expression, illustration. There never was a popular sermon preached which was not in a true sense an amplification of fireside talk for familiarity and honesty of utterance. Selfishness may bring large treasures to the miser's purse, but it will bring starvation to the preacher's pulpit. If a preacher will persist in impressing the people in his sermons that he has been to college and read Quintillian's Institutes of Rhetoric, and is a master of metaphysical analysis, he will be likely to establish a mutual admiration society, composed of himself and perhaps his trustees or deacons, but the great common sense of the world will vote him an insufferable bore and leave his pews empty.

I ask you if it is not wonderful that the church and the ministry have not yet discovered the eternal law of influence in the department of mind. Men may say that it is an irreverent declaration, but if it is it has the virtue of truth to recommend it—That viewed in relation to the results which it proposes to itself and the accessible means of accomplishing those results, there is not such a failure under the sun as the enterprise of preaching. For what is the result which this huge machine proposes to itself? The conversion of the whole world to God, to be sure, and nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of all this world come under the class of the common people. And what are the means at hand for reaching this grand result? Why, the truth of God's word, the moral instincts of the soul of man, the whole history of the human life, the whole repository of nature, and the almost miraculous potency of the uttered voice and the visible face of oratory. And with this object before the pulpit and these means and appliances at ready command, what do we see. Why, the face of the earth dotted over with churches, with well-cushioned seats, and not seldom the cushions voting down the people in respectable majorities. The churches get patronage for the most part by virtue of an innate reverence for religious observance that the human mind contains. To go to church is an old family habit, handed down from generation to generation, and so religion has come to be a coat pattern, and preaching turning a crank, and while this semi-farce is going on in the temple of God, what is becoming of the great world without? Why, they are seeking entertainment on such a day as this among fields and flowers rather than on a dietary of dry, theological husks. And I must confess they show some good taste in so doing. And if there is a piece of solemn buffoonery on the face of the earth, it is the sight of a preacher praying in his pulpit with unctuous pathos for "a world lying in wickedness," and then delivering a mass of insipid platitudes, baptized with the name of a sermon, which seems to be constructed with about as much reference to the world, as if the world lived in the moon!

Do you wonder that the sturdy common sense of mankind sees through the thin gauze of this consecrated imposition and illogically, but yet naturally, leaps into the blasphemous extreme of calling religion "an old wives' fable"? I think this is nothing to excite surprise.

My friends, you know that I have said much about the preacher's function since I came among you, and my sermons upon this theme have been addressed more to myself than they have been to you. It is out of my own conscious shortcomings that I always preach with the most success. This whole matter of "pulpit power," so called, which is now little better than airy abstraction, the real fact, as it stares us in the face, looking more like pulpit impotence than pulpit power—this whole matter, I say, has got to be thoroughly traversed, and reviewed, and reconstructed on a different foundation and with different material before the world will know God. And the grand desideratum which shall create both the demand, and the supply of a pulpit which has enlightening and remedial contact with the world, is a fellow feeling with humanity.

The aristocracy of a selfish world has infected the church, and the aristocracy of the church has poisoned the pulpit. And while preaching is not lacking in erudition, it is lacking in condescension; while it wants not the grip of logic, it does want the power of similitude; while it is not deficient in the exaltations of reverence, it is deficient in the lowliness of humanity; while it has plenty of intellect, it is starving for want of sympathy; while it is meat to the church, it is hunger to the world; while it conserves ecclesiastical theologies, it is salt without savor in popular moralities. I wish these were libellous allegations, but they are sturdy, irresistible facts, and we had as well look them in the face and confess their truth.

That great heart-beat of sympathy which Jesus had for men, and the poorer, and the more uncultured they were, the stronger and the warmer—His love-throb for them—this is what is needed to reform the appetite of the church and the deliverances of the pulpit. The pity, the sympathy, the humanity of Jesus, are the mighty and sovereign antidotes of all aristocracies, whether of social caste, of religion, or of literature. I only pray that these divine and heavenly inspirations may take full possession of us, and be the last tribunals of appeal by which we shall test the worthiness of our lives and the nobleness of our moral influence, whether we stand in the pulpit or sit in the pew. Let me tell you that heraldries and escutcheons will not help a man much at the latter day, except he hear that verdict from the great white throne, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these."

SONG OF THE CROAKER.

BY HORATIO ALGER, JR.

AN old frog lived in a dismal swamp,
In a dismal kind of way;
And all that he did, whatever befell,
Was to croak the livelong day.
Croak, croak, croak,
When darkness filled the air,
And croak, croak, croak, croak,
When the skies were bright and fair.

"Good Master Frog, a battle is fought,
And the foeman's power is broke,"
But he only turned a greener hue,
And answered with a croak.
Croak, croak, croak,
When the clouds are dark and dun;
And croak, croak, croak,
In the blaze of the noontide sun.

"Good Master Frog, the forces of Right
Are driving the hosts of Wrong,"
But he gives his head an ominous shake
And croaks out "*Nous verrons!*"
Croak, croak, croak,
Till the heart is full of gloom,
And croak, croak, croak,
Till the world seems but a tomb.

To poison the cup of life,
By always dreading the worst,
Is to make of the earth a dung on damp
And the happiest life accursed.
Croak, croak, croak,
When the noontide sun rides high,
And croak, croak, croak,
Lest the night come by and bye.

Farewell to the dismal frog,
Let him croak as loud as he may,
He cannot blot the sun from heaven,
Nor hinder the march of day.
Though he croak, croak, croak,
Till the heart is full of gloom,
And croak, croak, croak,
Till the world seems but a tomb.

—*Our Daily Fare.*

FUNERAL OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY.

THE funeral of the late Hon. Josiah Quincy took place from the Unitarian Church on Arlington street, at noon, on Wednesday, July 6th. There was a large attendance of mourners. Among the audience were the Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Chief Justice Bigelow, Judge Russell, Mayor Lincoln, Hon. Wm. C. Gray, and many prominent merchants; also members of the State government; the President, Fellows, ex-Presidents and Faculty of Harvard College; officers and members of the Massachusetts Historical Society; members of the Board of Education; Judges of the Supreme Bench; officers of the United States Court; the Mayor, Aldermen and Councilmen of this city; members of the bar, and clergymen of many denominations of Boston and vicinity, and others. The remains reposed in a coffin in front of the pulpit, which bore the following inscription:

JOSIAH QUINCY.
Born February 4 1772.
Died July 1, 1864.

The services consisted of a voluntary and chant from the choir, after which passages were read from the Scriptures by Rev. John D. Wells, of Quincy. The hymn was sung, beginning—

"How happy is he born and taught
Who serveth not another's will," etc.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Gannett in a most impressive manner, and the service was concluded with singing the hymn commencing:

"Like shadows gliding o'er the plain,
Or clouds that move successive on," etc.

Opportunity was then given for those present to look upon the features of the deceased; after which a cortege was formed, the following serving as pall-bearers: Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and four ex-Mayors, viz: Hon. Alexander H. Rice, Hon. Charles Wells, Hon. John P. Bigelow, and Hon. J. V. C. Smith.

The procession moved as far as Cambridge bridge, where several organizations took their leave, and the remains were conveyed to Mount Auburn.

Short services were held in the Chapel at Mount Auburn, conducted by Rev. Dr. Hill, President of Harvard College. The remains of the distinguished and beloved citizen were then committed to their final resting place.

During the ceremonies in the city the flags on the State House, the City Hall and other buildings, and on the public squares, were displayed at half-mast, and the bells were tolled while the procession moved to Cambridge bridge.

From The Liberator.

The officiating clergyman took the usual privilege of his class by rehearsing at length, in the course of his prayer, those excellencies of character in the deceased which he thought specially honorable and memorable. But, as was natural for the man who said, many years ago—"The mission of Unitarianism to slavery is silence"—and who has ever since conducted his ministry in accordance with that sentiment—he made no reference to one of the most admirable features of Mr. Quincy's life, namely, the fact that he made vigorous and persistent efforts to lead the political party with which he was connected to an anti-slavery position; that he made large use of his pen, and of his personal influence, to induce the Whigs to unite in opposition to the aggressions of the Slave Power; and that, when that party deservedly perished through the natural influence of its cowardice and hunkerism, he plainly set forth its demerits, and showed the connection between its crime and its punishment, by way of warning to the men and the parties which should follow. C. K. W.

PLAIN-SPEAKING.—I think there is a great deal of mischief done by what is called *plain-speaking*; and yet, how beautiful it is when a serene old man, knowing the ways of youth, in a spirit of ineffable gentleness and love, at a timely moment, draws aside a young man whose disposition he has watched, and says to him in plain words, "My son, thus and thus you are living, and thus and thus you will end such a life if you persist in it"—doing for him what his father or mother, or employer never did—administering to him plain, but kind and loving words of rebuke! That young man will turn by and by; and when he does turn, and take hold of the ways of righteousness, he never will forget the beauty of that faithfulness of speech that so sank down into his heart. But, on the other hand, there are many men that undertake this faithfulness of speech who are like a physician that should conclude that all men were below the standard of health, and should go around with some nauseous medicine, and wherever he could see a man's mouth open, put in a pinch, making himself a pest to the whole community. There are many persons that, as religious reformers, are impertinent, intrusive, void of good judgment, annoying, provoking. Moral mosquitoes, gnats, fleas, vermin they are!—*H. W. Beecher.*

A THRILLING NARRATIVE.

AN ACTUAL SCENE IN NEW ORLEANS.

New Orleans Correspondence of The New York Examiner.

FRANK BRADFORD was owned by a man named Armstrong, in this city. He had three children, owned once by a man who is now in the rebel army, named Bostick, who, because he owned the mother was also the owner of the children. By-and-by Gen. Butler came to New Orleans, and all the slaves suspected they were free, and because Yankee soldiers said so, they actually believed they were. Accordingly, Frank went to the owner of his children and asked for them. Mrs. B. indignantly refused, and ordered him to leave instanter. He, not willing to make trouble, went away sorrowful. By-and-by came the glorious proclamation of President Lincoln. The colored people were jubilant. They thought that was enough, and that the year of jubilee had come.

Frank now thought there would be no trouble about his children. Accordingly he went to the house where they were held, and asked for them. The rebel woman refused to give them up, whereupon Frank took them in his arms. The rebel woman took hold of him, and was about to rescue the children, when he put them down, and gave her a push which sent her tumbling to the other side of the room.

Before she could again grasp the little ones, the father fled, and had proceeded through the street some distance, when the cry of "watch!" was heard, and in a moment a hundred rebels rushed along, with some policemen, and Frank was captured, the children torn from him and returned to the slaveholder—the rebel and the hater of liberty.

What a triumph of wrong over right. How exultant were the rebels around Fulton street. Poor Frank was taken to the calaboose and locked up. In a day or two Madam Bostick, aided by a dozen rebels, appeared in court to prosecute the poor colored man, who stood alone against his persecutors. What chance had he of justice in a court of New Orleans? The forms of law were observed, and Frank was charged in the First District Court with assault and battery on the person of Mrs. Bostick, the wife of a man who is in Virginia fighting for slavery. Witnesses were examined, but not on the side of the accused. The process was brief. Frank had but one witness, and to get rid of his testimony the crafty rebels charged him with being accessory to the crime.

The Court, after mature deliberation (after the manner of olden times), sentenced Frank to two years very hard labor in the parish prison. Mrs. Bostick had done no wrong in first taking hold of Frank, and being the person who had actually caused the assault—she was a rebel, and Frank a Union man—Frank must go to jail, and she go home to curse the Yankees, and gnash at them with her teeth. The children were hers, and the police committed no offence in returning them! The poor father went to jail like Him who was led as a sheep dumb before her shearers, and opened not his mouth. The simple logic of the affair resolves itself down to this: What right had Frank to be a father? What right had he to the feelings and love of a father? What right did he have to his offspring? How dare he strive with a white woman for the possession of those whom he loved as the apple of his eye? Ah! this war must go on until the rod has been so laid upon the backs of those tyrants that they will know the force of these words: "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord."

Frank, notwithstanding it was a crime to be educated, had gathered some light into his mind, and could read and write. After being in prison about six months, he wrote a letter to Col. Hanks, asking for a reconsideration of his case. The Colonel referred the matter to me. I saw that wrong was done. I went to the prison, and found Frank was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and an excellent mechanic. Large numbers of worthy persons vouched for his good character. I went to the house where the altercation took place between him and Mrs. Bostick.

I entered into conversation with her, and she declared that she would see Frank Bradford in ashes before she would consent to his release from prison. "The old nigger," said she, "may rot in the calaboose; it serves him right. How dare he come to my house? The idea of a nigger coming and demanding *his* children? They are my children—my slaves." With all this she added: "Because my husband is in the Confederate army, I have to be insulted in this way; but—" Here her lips grew black with rage, and she might have thought of adding, "When the Confederates come back, we will pay back with interest."

I heard enough on which to ground an appeal to Gov. Hahn for Bradford's pardon; and, by the way, Mrs. B. declared that she would see "Mike Hahn" (as she ironically called the Governor), and see to it that no pardon should be given.

The appeal was made out and indorsed by Col. Hanks, who recommended that the poor man be released. The Governor had seen Mrs. B., who had taken the pains to be first in his parlor; but she only helped to convince him that the prisoner should be pardoned. The order for the pardon was written, and the great seal of the State of Louisiana placed upon it, and then placed in my hands. I was never so glad over one worthy act. How gladly I went to the parish prison with the tidings to the poor man! It appeared as if each step was slow, and that my feet would never take me to the place of confinement. I arrived, however, and called for Frank Bradford.

The iron door was thrown open, and the poor man appeared. He entered the street with his soul lighting up his face, and causing his eyes to shine in token of his delight. "Thank God! Thank God!" said he, and then wept for joy. But this was not all. The children were yet in slavery; and Gen. Banks recently issued an order that all such children should be given to their parents. It was an order that brought joy to many a sad heart.

Under this order we could do something for Frank's children. Col. Hanks issued the following order: "Mrs. Bostick, residing at 371 Fulton street, New Orleans, will immediately deliver the children now in her possession, belonging to Frank Bradford, in order that the father may have them restored to him." Signed, Geo. H. Hanks, Colonel, etc. The order was placed in my hands, and, in company with Frank, I went to the house where the little ones were retained. I took a squad of soldiers along in case there might be a war on a small scale.

On arriving at the residence of Madam B., I knocked at the door, and she soon appeared. In a moment she was in a rage. She saw the colored man she hated. She saw a squad of soldiers. She knew something was on foot. I called for the children and their clothing. They were brought; and there, in the very house to which the police returned them, and where the so-called assault was committed, there Frank received his children one after another into his arms. The poor man wept aloud as he kissed each one. The loyal neighbors (who were few) were out upon their door steps and witnessed this triumph of liberty with great delight.

The children are now going to school, and the father is at work for the United States Quartermaster, earning two dollars a day. CONWAY.

New Orleans, June 4, 1864.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *Esq, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: I am much gratified to perceive, by an extract from a recent speech of yours published in the Boston *Commonwealth*, that you are sensible of the injustice of the attacks made on me by the opponents of the President. This induces me to say that you are altogether right in discrediting the statement that I had "bought an interest in the Baltimore *Clipper* for the purpose (among other things) of preventing emancipation in Maryland." The sole object of my negotiations with the proprietors of that journal was to secure a press to advocate emancipation in a city where, at the time my negotiations began, we had no such advocate. The espousal of our cause, afterwards, by the able editor of the Baltimore *American*, superseded, in a great measure, the necessity for my negotiations with *The Clipper*, and they were for that reason discontinued.

I am gratified also to see that you do not consider a difference of opinion on the question of whether the races must be separated after emancipation a sufficient reason for division among friends of freedom before we have effected emancipation. "The Blairs," as they are now distinguished for denunciation, have ~~been in some degree~~ the pioneers of one scheme of emancipation, as you have been of another at the North; schemes which differ as to the manner by which it was proposed to accomplish and maintain emancipation. You thought it possibly might be necessary to dissolve the Union to obtain emancipation; we believed it could only be accomplished by the force of the Union, and, therefore, were for the Union for the sake of emancipation itself, as well as for every other reason. You think freedom or equality possible for masses of blacks and whites in the same community; we think all history proves the contrary.

But, whilst these are important differences, we have one common object—emancipation—and until that is accomplished, we do not intend to separate ourselves from the great body of the friends of the cause. We have, without regard to consequences, assisted to reach the earliest and most absolute triumph of the cause. We dissented even from the repeal of Fremont's proclamation, although pronounced in derogation of the President's dignity and authority, and from a selfish motive. The position he has now taken proves he is ready to sacrifice the cause which he pretended prompted it, to reach the real object of his zeal; and we, in common with the mass of the people, have learned to appreciate the wiser and surer policy of the head of the government, who, in arresting the unauthorized step of a subordinate, left it to time and public opinion to reveal and announce the necessity which alone could justify the act.

As respects the attempt to turn me out of the Cabinet, my brother Frank describes my feelings in a letter from Kingston, Georgia, dated 6th instant, in speaking of the designs against him: "To-morrow," he says, "we march for the front, which we shall reach in two or three days, and in time to participate in the final struggle for Atlanta. We are exceedingly hopeful of results here, and equally so of Grant's success in Virginia. I see my radical friends in Congress are still pursuing me. I hope they will have a good time of it. I do not care a snap of my fingers whether they succeed or not in turning me out of Congress and the army both. I think, after the incessant excitement and toil of the past four years, I could enjoy a little quiet retirement; especially as it is now apparent that the rebellion will soon be put down and Old Abe reëlected."

I am, very truly, yours, M. BLAIR.

Washington, June 21, 1864.

WITHOUT THE CHILDREN.

O THE weary, solemn silence
Of a house without the children,
O the strange, oppressive stillness
Where the children come no more!
Ah! the longing of the sleepless
For the soft arms of the children,
Ah! the longing for the faces,
Faces gone forevermore!
Peeping through the opening door.

Strange it is to wake at midnight,
And not hear the children breathing,
Nothing but the old clock ticking,
Ticking, ticking by the door.
Strange to see the little dresses
Hanging up there all the morning;
And the gaiters—ah! their patter,
We will hear it never more
On our mirth-forsaken floor.

What is home without the children?
'Tis the earth without its verdure,
And the sky without its sunshine:
Life is withered to the core!
So we'll leave this dreary desert,
And we'll follow the Good Shepherd
To the greener pastures vernal,
Where the lambs have "gone before"
With the Shepherd evermore!

O the weary, solemn silence
Of a house without the children,
O the strange, oppressive stillness
Where the children come no more!
Ah! the longing of the sleepless
For the soft arms of the children;
Ah! the longing for the faces
Peeping through the opening door—
Faces gone forevermore!

—*Babble-Brook Song.*

*PHILLIPS'S SPEECHES.**

MR. PHILLIPS'S speeches might, for several reasons, well be entitled *Philippics.* The original Philippic was indeed so titled from its object; these as well from their author. But from their subject and substance no ancient oratory was ever more brilliant with keen sarcasm, splendid invective, or destructive satire, scattered like diamond handfuls in every direction. Walker and Wise have here enshrined them in a classic exterior; rightly, for they are classic, as products of rare genius, aristocratic culture, stern moral purpose, historic permanence.

Mr. Phillips's "first appearance on the stage" was unintentionally somewhat scenic. The murder of Lovejoy had just startled the public mind. The gun of Sumter did not more unequivocally inaugurate the rebellion than the gun of Alton proclaimed the enthronization of the slave-king over the entire North amid enforced silence and abolished freedom. The words of James T. Austin, comparing this deed of mob despotism to the Boston tea-party of the Revolution, aroused the spirit of young Wendell Phillips, and called a mightier Lovejoy to the battle of truth and freedom. Very appropriately, that first impulsive utterance stands as first in this collection. It was a noble introductory to a series of the most manly utterances of the age.

We had read many of Mr. Phillips's speeches before we had heard one. The fiery style of the printed text seemed, upon listening to his voice, in unexpected contrast with the deliberate coolness of his manner. The lava poured forth without seeming at all to heat the machinery that poured it. It seemed to be carefully measured out in well calculated bucketsful. There seems to be a very calm, intellectual, aristocratic Phillips behind the fierce, fiery, radical Phillips; and the back Phillips seems to have made up his mind that it mattered little what the front Phillips had to meet, whether hisses, obsolete eggs, or democratic rows; he—the back Phillips—was securely undisturbed and no way implicated in the concern. This indicates the naturally endowed agitator. He purposes and prepares his whole system of pyrotechnics upon principle. Was he not a man of high moral principle, had he not taken right and truth and perfection as his ultimate aim, he could in turbulent times be "lord of misrule."

Though Mr. Phillips deals master truths at the delinquent part of the Church and clergy, we find no proof of his working in behalf of irreligion. He makes not anti-slaveryism a vantage ground against orthodoxy. He shows none of the rancorous polemic mendacity of Theodore Parker. Here as elsewhere his castigations are well measured and truthfully adjusted. His anger, if his polished invectives really ever indicate anything designated by that term, is sequent upon offense against his righteous cause; never is the righteous cause made the pretext of subsidiary purposes. We believe that he sees men at the present day very much as they will stand in the light of future history.

His lecture on Toussaint L'Overture—the jet black hero and statesman of St. Domingo—shows that he deals not in invective because he is not a perfect a master of eulogy. That piece should be read as an illustration in what audacity of lying pro-slaveryism has indulged, what persistence in refusing to hear truth servility has practiced. "The massacre of St. Domingo!" has been a phrase of mystery suggesting the unknown horrors, forsooth, in which emancipation must ever result! Yet the truth of history, when clearly made known, shows the bloody treachery of despotism, the magnanimity of the slave, and the unsurpassed greatness of one illustrious negro.

We commend this book to the perusal of all, but especially of our young men. It is throughout a noble lesson. We admire not the character of the professional agitator. Ultraisms and radicalism in themselves are inconveniences and so evils. The presumption is rightly and truly against them. But they are not necessarily moral evils, and they may be by greater evils transformed to good. The true highest test is Right; the secondary test is an ultimate Good. In this sordid age nothing is more important than that men should learn to separate the element of justice and the true good from those conventional interests that blind and pervert the eye of the soul.—*Methodist Quarterly Review.*

* *Speeches, Lectures,* and *Letters.* By WENDELL PHILLIPS 12mo., pp. 562. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1864.

MAJOR FITZ HUGH BIRNEY.

THE following extract from a private letter is but slight evidence of the esteem in which this gallant officer was held by all who knew him.

Major Birney died a few days since at Washington, D. C., from pneumonia of both lungs, the disease, if not contracted, having been rendered more severe by his constant exposure and over-exertion during the present campaign in Virginia. Up to the time of his death he held the position of Assistant Adjutant-General of the third division of the Second Corps.

Major Birney served with distinction in the Army of the Potomac almost since its original organization, and was one of the officers distinguished by the decoration of the "Kearney Cross."

"HEADQUARTERS, THIRD DIVISION, SECOND CORPS, June 23, 1864.— * * * I don't know whether any of you knew Fitz Birney. If you did, you can imagine how sadly we all felt when we heard of his death. He was a noble fellow, and a universal favorite. When he left us at Cold Harbor we hoped soon to see him again. The idea of losing him altogether I don't think occurred to any one.

"As a hard worker and an earnest advocate of the cause for which our armies are fighting, Major Birney had no superior. Several times before he left us, and during the time when the symptoms of his last illness were making their appearance, he expressed to me, with deep regret at the probability, his fear that he would have to go home, and miss being with us in our final success. He held out, as it was, longer than most men would have done under similar circumstances, and for two days before he went to the hospital he was unable to lie down without convulsions of coughing.

"His military history has been a brilliant one, and in every capacity in which he has served since his original entry into the service at the commencement of the war he won for himself a most enviable reputation.

"Fitz so endeared himself to all his associates that in losing him we feel as if we had lost a very dear member of our family. As a brave, gallant soldier and an accomplished gentlemen, his memory will ever be present with those of us who knew and served with him."—*Phil. North American.*

FUNERAL OF THE LATE W. J. FOX, ESQ.

THE mortal remains of this highly-gifted gentleman were yesterday consigned to their last resting-place in the Brompton Cemetery. The funeral was exceedingly plain and unostentatious. On the arrival of the body, with the carriages containing only the relations and most intimate friends of the deceased, at the gate of the cemetery, the procession was formed, being joined by a large number of the friends, colleagues, and admirers of the deceased gentleman, as well as a number of ladies and gentlemen, members of the old congregation, who, worshipping at South-place Chapel under his pastorate, were desirous of paying the last tribute of respect to his memory. Amongst them were F. Fox, Esq., C. Fox, Esq., R. Cobden, Esq., M. P., ——— Hibbert, Esq., M. P., W. Lovett, Esq., W. T. Malleson, Esq., J. Watson, Esq., W. Shaen, Esq., R Moore, Esq., C D. Collett, Esq., M. Pollard, Esq., G. J. Holyoake, Esq., the Rev. M. D. Conway, etc., etc.

The coffin was a plain black one, having a black plate, bearing the name and age (78 years) of the deceased.

The coffin having been lowered into the grave, a most impressive address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Malleson, of Brighton, who dwelt for some time upon the career of Mr. Fox in a manner which forcibly recalled that gentleman to the memory of his hearers; concluding an eloquent address, during which the speaker himself, as well as those around him, were moved to tears, by reading two hymns of Mr. Fox's own composing, and which are in the collection of hymns known as Mr. Fox's collection—sung at South-place—the last of which runs as follows:

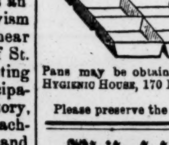
"Not for false and fleeting joys—
Pleasure, that while tasted cloys;
Not for self-inflicted pain—
Born to purchase Heavenly gain,
Did God make man."

—*London Morning Star, June* 10.

THE MOSAIC WORK IN WOLSEY'S TOMB-HOUSE, WINDSOR CASTLE.—Signor Salviati is proceeding rapidly with the enamel mosaic work in the vaulted roof of Cardinal Wolsey's tomb-house, Windsor Castle, under the directions of Mr. Gilbert Scott, R.A., for her Majesty the Queen. The surface of the panels to be covered by the mosaic work is upwards of 2,000 square feet, and more than a half of the whole is already fixed. The cartoons have been designed and drawn by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. All the mosaic work was executed in Venice, and is fixed by Venetian artists, who came hither for the purpose. The roof, as most of our readers know, is groined, and the spaces between the groins are filled with enamel-mosaic pictures, on gold-enamel ground. Each long panel has a half-length figure of an angel, whose head is surrounded by a gold nimbus, and as well beneath as above every figure there are ornaments representing foliage, clouds, etc.; the other panels along the centre of the ceiling contain the Prince Consort's crests, with the motto, "Treu und fest," his initial, medallions, devices, and other ornaments. The roof is divided into two parts: the first we may call the secular or heraldic part, and the second (east end of the chapel) the sacred. In the whole there are ninety-two angels, each holding a shield. The sixty-four angels of the first portion are holding shields bearing the arms of the Prince Consort and his family, and the other twenty-eight angels of the second part hold shields with the various emblems of Our Lord's Passion. The large number of tints, and the improved quality as well of the colored as of the gold enamels, are very noticeable, particularly the different tints which the gold enamel is capable of receiving, and the successful use of it (ruby-orange and variously-shaded colors) in the wings of the angels, in the *gloria* round the heads, in the shields, crests, and many other important places. The execution of the whole work will occupy, it is stated, no more than ten months, dating from the date of receiving the first part of the cartoons (July, 1863), till the complete fixing on the roof. Considering the extent of the work, upwards of 2,000 square feet, as we have already said, this speed is very remarkable, and speaks strongly for the organization of Signor Salviati's establishment.—*Builder.*

A MOB DISPERSED BY A JOKE.—When an officer of the government of the revolution, the first Napoleon had been ordered out to disperse a body of rioters. Having drawn up his soldiers and some guns across the street, he waited their advance. They at length appeared, sweeping down on him and his party like a roaring torrent. The artillerymen, with their port-fires, stood ready at his signal to pour showers of grape into the body of the mob. Unwilling to shed blood, he stepped out from his men to reason with the suffering and misguided people, and soon found himself *vis-a-vis* with their head—a virago of a woman, whose appearance presented a remarkable contrast to his own. She was of great size, and enormously fat; while he, always very little, was at that time so thin, as well as small, that he was known by the *sobriquet* of "La Petit Corporal." He remonstrated with this lady; but she replied with volleys of abuse—telling him that while she and other honest, hard-working people were starving, such idle fellows as he and his soldiers were fattening on the best of the land. With that eagle eye and remarkable promptitude which afterwards turned the fate of many a battle-field, Napoleon saw at once the weak point of his adversary's position. He paused till she was out of breath. Then taking off his hat, he bowed to the mob; and, placing his own thin figure beside that of his fat opponent, he asked them to say, whether the good lady or he looked most like starving? As happens in more respectable assemblies than mobs, and elsewhere than in witty France, a good-humored joke won the day; and the people, for the time at least, quietly dispersed.—*Good Words.*

Advertisements.



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